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D. CALDWELL,
Clerk of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

INDEX.

A.

Abderammé, 22.
 Abelard, 70.
 Academie Française, 211.
 Acre, siege of, 74, 75, 96.
 Agincourt, battle of, 128, 129, 130.
 Aix-la-Chapelle, treaty of, 218, 241.
 Alaric, 13, 14, 15.
 Albigenses, 73, 90, 91.
 Almanza, battle of, 226.
 Alva, duke of, 173, 190.
 Anastasius, 16.
 Ancre, marquis of, 204, 205.
 Anselm, gen. 296.
 Arnay-le-Duc, battle of, 184.
 Arnold, 42, 43.
 Artillery, 108.
 Ascalon, battle of, 75.
 Assignats, 276.

B.

Bailly, m. 261, 270.
 Barrere, 299.
 Bastile, destruction of, 271, 272.
 Bayard, chevalier, 159, 162, 165.
 Belgæ, 11.
 Belleisle, capture of, 245.
 Berry, d. of, 247.
 Berwick, d. of, 226, 232.
 Bible, 121.
 Black Prince, 106, 107, 108, 109,
 110, 115, 116, 119, 120, 121.
 Blenheim, battle of, 225, 226.
 Blondel, 76, 77.
 Boileau, 231.
 Bollmann, Dr. 288, 289, 290, 291,
 292.
 Borgia, Cæsar, 159.
 Boufflers, marshal, 223, 225.
 Bouille, marquis of, 254, 278.
 Boyne, battle of, 223.
 Braddock, gen. 242, 243.
 Brandon, Charles, 161, 162.
 Brissot, m. 283, 298, 299.

A 2

Brittanny, countess of, 105, 106.
 Broglio, marshal, 272, 273.
 Brunehaud, 19, 20.
 Brunswick, d. of, 285, 296.
 Buckingham, d. of, 207, 208, 209.
 Buffon, m. 261.
 Byng, adm. 243.

C

Calais, siege of, 108, 109, 110, 111
 Calonne, m. de, 261, 262, 263, 264,
 265.
 Calvin, John, 174, 175.
 Cambaceres, 299.
 Camus, 295, 298.
 Canada, capture of, 246.
 Canal of Languedoc, 217.
 Cape Breton, capture of, 241, 245.
 Capet, Hugh, 48, 49, 50.
 Carloman I. 23, 27, 28, 40.
 Carloman, II. 41.
 Castrees, marq. de, 262.
 Catherine of Medicis, 171, 181, 182,
 184, 185, 191.
 Cerizoles, battle of, 170.
 Charibert, 18, 20.
 Charlemagne, 27, 28 29, 30, 31, 32,
 33, 34, 49.
 Charles the Bald, 35, 39, 40, 49.
 Charles the Fat, 41, 42.
 Charles Martel, 21, 22, 23, 49.
 Charles the Simple, 42, 43, 44, 45,
 49.
 Charles IV. 102.
 Charles V. 118.
 Charles VI. 124, 125, 126, 131, 132,
 133, 134, 135.
 Charles VII. 135, 136, 143, 144.
 Charles VIII. 151, 153, 154, 155,
 156, 157, 158.
 Charles V. the emperor, 163, 164
 165, 167, 168, 169, 170, 172, 173,
 Charles IX. 177, 180, 181, 184, 185,
 186, 187, 188, 189.

- Chartres, d. of, afterwards Egalite the younger, 250.
 Chevalier St. George, *See Pretender*.
 Childebert, 17, 18, 21.
 Childeric, 11, 21.
 Childeric, II. 26.
 Chilperic, 18, 19.
 Chivalry, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66.
 Choiseul, d. of, 251.
 Clairfait, gen. 296.
 Claviere, M. 280, 283, 286.
 Clery, M. 287, 300.
 Clock, striking, 32, 123, 124.
 Clodion, 11.
 Clodoalde, 18.
 Clodomir, 17.
 Clodomir, 17, 18.
 Clotaire, II. 17, 18, 19, 20,
 Clotaire, III. 21.
 Clovis, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16.
 Clovis, 21.
 Colbert, 217, 221.
 Collot d'Herbois, 295, 298.
 Constituent Assembly, 279.
 Closter-Seven, convention of, 244.
 Clotilda, 13, 14.
 Coligni, adm. 176, 178, 179, 181,
 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187.
 Coligni, the younger, 194
 Cologne, family of, 98, 162.
 Columbus, 157.
 Combat, trial by, 95.
 Commynes, Philip de, 148.
 Conflans, m. de 246.
 Conchini, 204.
 Conde, p. of, 176, 177, 178, 179, 181,
 182, 183.
 Conde p. of, the younger, 183, 184,
 187, 189, 191, 200, 201, 205.
 Conde, p. of the great, 213, 214,
 216, 219, 220.
 Condorcet, 261, 283, 298.
 Conflans, m. de 246.
 Constable, title of, 33.
 Contades, marshal de, 245.
 Conti, p. of, 194, 214.
 Cordeliers, 90.
 Corderius, 175.
 Corneille, 231.
 Cornwallis, marquis, 256, 257, 258.
 Corsica, 247, 248.
 Coucy, Ralph de, 75.
 Crecy, battle of, 106, 107, 108, 130
 Crillon, d. de, 254, 257.
 Crown point, siege of, 245.
 Crusades, 56, 57, 58, 70, 92, 93, 94, 96
 Cullodon Moor, battle of, 241.
 Custine, gen. 296.
- D.
- Dagobert, 20.
 Dainville, marshal, 189, 190.
 D'Alembert, 261.
 Damiens, Francis, 243, 244.
 D'Angouleme, duchess, 302.
 Daniel, Arnaud, 83, 84.
 Danton, M. 283, 286, 294, 299.
 D'Artois, count, 247, 266, 273, 302.
 Dauphin, 112.
 De Brienne, M. 265.
 De Grasse, count de, 256, 258.
 Delphin classics, 230.
 Dendermonde, siege of, 240.
 De Retz, card. 206, 214.
 De Ruyter, adm. 219, 221.
 Deseze, M. 299, 300.
 Desiderius, 29.
 Dettingen, battle of, 236.
 De Witt, Cornelius, 220.
 De Witt, John, 219, 220.
 Diderot, m. 261.
 Dieskaw, gen. 243.
 Dillon, marshal, 282.
 Doria, Anthony, 107.
 Droit d'aubaine, 276.
 Drouet, m. de, 278.
 Dubois, cardinal, 233.
 Dumorier, gen. 280, 281, 283, 295,
 296, 297.
 Du Quesne, fort, 242.
 Du Quesne, marquis of, 246.
- E.
- Edgeworth, Rev. M. 301.
 Egalité, M. *See d. of Orleans*.
 Elizabeth, princess, 284, 286.
 Eudes, 41, 42.
 Eugene, prince, 224, 226.
- F.
- Fabre, 299.
 Family Compact, 245, 254.

- Fastolfe, sir Charles, 135.
 Faustus, John, 150, 151.
 Fayette, marquis de la, 252, 255, 272, 273, 274, 275, 282, 283, 284, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 295, 302.
 Feast of the Ass, 59.
 Flag, national, 277.
 Fleury, cardinal, 233, 234, 235.
 Fleury, m. Joli de, 257, 261.
 Fontainebleau, palace of, 217; treaty of, 246.
 Fontenoy, battle of, 237, 238, 239.
 Fornova, battle of, 156.
 Francis I. 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171.
 Francis, II. 175, 176, 177.
 Franklin, Benj. 252.
 Franks, 11, 12.
 Fredegonda, 19.
 Frederick the Great, 234, 235, 236, 240, 241, 246.
 Friends of the People, 270.
 Froissard, 121.
- G.
- Gabelle, 112.
 Galigni, Leonora, 204, 205, 206.
 Gallisoniere, marquis, 243.
 Gama, Vasca de, 157.
 Ganganelli, pope, 250.
 Garniere, M. 280.
 Gauls, 11, 12, 13.
 Gemappe, battle of, 297.
 Gerard, m. 254.
 Gibraltar, siege of, 254.
 Godefroy of Bouillon, 57, 58.
 Godemar, 17.
 Gondebald, 13, 17.
 Gondebaud, 19.
 Gondegisile, 13.
 Gontran, 18, 19.
 Gourdan, Bertrand de, 78.
 Grammont, d. de, 238.
 Grasse, count de, 256.
 Gray, lady Jane, 162.
 Grimoald, 21.
 Guesclin, Bernard du, 118, 119.
 Guichen, adm. de, 255.
 Guillotine, M. 281.
 Guise, duke of, 171, 172, 173, 175, 178, 179, 186, 191.
- Guise, d. of, the younger, 194, 199.
 Guy of Lusignan, 74.
- H.
- Harfleur, siege of, 127.
 Harold, 54, 55.
 Haroun Al Rashid, 32.
 Hastings, battle of, 55.
 Henry I. 53.
 Henry II. 171, 173, 174.
 Henry III. 189, 190, 191, 192.
 Henry IV. 182, 183, 184, 185, 187, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203.
 Huger, Francis K. 290, 291, 292.
 Hugh the Great, 44, 47.
 Hugh Capet, 48, 49, 50.
 Hugonots, 174, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 208, 210, 222.
- I.
- Jacobins, 270, 280, 283, 284.
 Jarnac, battle of, 182, 183.
 Jerusalem, siege of, 57, 58.
 India, trade to, 203.
 John, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 121.
 Joinville, Sieur, 93, 95.
 Jour, William de la, 87.
 Jury, trial by, 276.
- K.
- Kellermann, genl. 296.
 Koster, Laurentius, 150.
- L.
- Lacepede, M. 280.
 Lacoste, M. 280.
 La Fontaine, 231.
 Landen, battle of, 223.
 La Perouse, 259.
 Lamballe, princess de, 294, 295.
 Lasource, M. 298.
 Launay, marquis de, 271, 272.
 Law, John, 233.
 Le Brun, 286.
 Le Dain, Oliver, 147, 152, 153.
 Legendre, M. 299.
 Legislative Assembly, 279.
 Library Royal, 121.

- Lorges, count de, 272.
 Lothaire, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 47, 48.
 Louisburg, capture of, 245.
 Louis the Debonnaire, 34, 35, 36.
 Louis the Stammerer, 41.
 Louis III. 41.
 Louis IV. 43, 44.
 Louis V. 45, 46, 47, 49.
 Louis VI. 67, 68, 69.
 Louis VII. 70, 71, 72.
 Louis VIII. 90.
 Louis IX. 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 98.
 Louis X. 101.
 Louis XI. 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150.
 Louis XII. 158, 159, 160, 161.
 Louis XIII. 203, 204, 205, 206, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212.
 Louis XIV. 212, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 242, 268, 273.
 Louis XV. 232, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248.
 Louis XVI. 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 255, 257, 260, 262, 263, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 298, 299, 300, 302.
 Louis XVII. 301.
 Louis XVIII. 301.
 Louvre, palace of, 217.
 Luckner, marshal, 282.
 Luther, Martin, 168.
 Luxembourg, d. of, 219, 223.
- M.
- Maintenon, madame de, 221, 225.
 Malesherbes, M. 249, 299, 300.
 Manny, sir Walter, 106, 109, 110, 111.
 Maria Antoinette, 248, 275, 277, 278, 279, 301.
 Marignano, battle of, 163.
 Marlborough, d. of, 225, 226, 228.
 Marat, 294, 299.
 Marot, 230, 231.
 Marquis, origin of the title, 30.
 Martel, Charles, 21, 22, 23.
 Mary, q. of Scots, 174, 175.
 Mauntisier, d. of, 230.
- Maurepas, count de, 249.
 Mayors of the Palace, 20.
 Mazarin, cardinal, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216.
 Medicis, Cath. of, 171, 177, 181, 182, 185, 186, 191.
 Meroveus, 11.
 Minden, battle of, 245.
 Minorca, capture of, 243, 257.
 Mirabeau, count, 265, 277, 287.
 Moleire, 231.
 Monge, M. 286.
 Montaigne, 230, 231.
 Montcalm, marquis de, 245.
 Montcolour, battle of, 183.
 Montecuculli, 220.
 Montesquieu, 261.
 Montmorenci, constable, 166, 169, 171, 179, 181, 194.
 Montmorenci, the younger, 190, 194, 211.
 Munster, treaty of, 213.
- N.
- Namur, siege of, 223.
 Nantz, edict of, 198, 208, 222, 276.
 National Assembly, 269, 270, 271, 279, 298.
 National Convention, 298.
 National Guards, 273.
 Navy, 120.
 Necker, James, 251, 257, 261, 262, 267, 268, 271, 275, 276, 287.
 Niagara, siege of fort, 245.
 Nimeguen, 221.
 Noailles, m. de, 236, 238.
 Notables, 264, 265.
- O.
- Orange, p. of, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 225.
 Organ, 32.
 Orleans, d. of, afterwards Egalité, 250, 267, 268, 275, 300.
 Ormond, d. of, 228.
 Oudenarde, siege of, 239.
- P.
- Paine, Thomas, 283.
 Painting, 122.
 Pandects of Justinian, 66.

Paoli, gen. 247, 248.
 Paper, manufactory of, 123.
 Paris, becomes the capital of France, 16.
 Parliaments, 97, 100.
 Pastoret, M. 280.
 Pavia, battle of, 166.
 Pepin d'Heristal, 21.
 Pepin the Short, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 49.
 Peronne, 145.
 Peter the Hermit, 56, 57.
 Peter the Great, 233.
 Petion, M. 285, 286, 293, 299.
 Pharamond, 11.
 Philip I. 54, 56, 58.
 Philip II. 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81.
 Philip III. 96.
 Philip IV. 96, 97, 98, 100.
 Philip V. 101, 102.
 Philip VI. 103, 104, 105, 107, 108, 112.
 Pius VI, 250, 281, 282.
 Plessis-Les-Tours, 148.
 Pondicherry, 245.
 Pont-Neuf, 203.
 Portsmouth, duchess of, 213.
 Post-offices, 193.
 Poitiers, battle of, 115, 116, 130.
 Pragmatic Sanction, 95.
 Pretender, 225, 240, 241.
 Printing, 150, 151.
 Protestants, 168.
 Provence, count of, 247, 279, 302.
 Pyrennees, treaty of the, 216.

Q.

Quebec, founded, 203; siege of, 245, 246.
 Quercuaille, mad'lle, 213.
 Quinault, 231.

R.

Rabelais, 230, 231.
 Racine, 231.
 Radstadt, treaty of, 223.
 Ramillies, battle of, 226.
 Ratisbon, treaty of, 221.
 Ravallac, Francis, 201, 202, 204.
 Raynal, 261.

Revolution, commencement of, 270.
 Richard Cœur de Lion, 63, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78.
 Richelieu, cardinal, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211.
 Richelieu, d. of, 243, 244, 245.
 Rights of Man, 274.
 Robert the Strong, 42.
 Robert Capet, 51, 52.
 Robespierre, Maximilian, 294, 299.
 Rochambeau, count de, 255, 256.
 Rochambeau, gen. 232.
 Rodney, adm. 258.
 Rodolph, 44, 45.
 Rohan, d. of, 205, 210.
 Roland, 31.
 Roland, M. 280, 281, 283, 286.
 Rollo, 43, 45.
 Rousseau, 261.
 Rudel, Geoffry, 82, 83.
 Ryswick, peace of, 223.

S.

Saladin, 74, 75, 76.
 Salique Law, 24, 102.
 Sans-Culottes, 281.
 Santerre, M. 300.
 Saracens, 22.
 Sartine, m. 262.
 Savannah, siege of, 254.
 Saxe, marsh. 236, 237, 238, 239.
 Schoeffler, Peter, 150.
 Serfs, 68, 69.
 Servan, M. 283, 286.
 Sieyes, abbe, 274.
 Sigebert, 19.
 Sigebert, II. 18, 21.
 Sigesmond, 17.
 Silk, 203.
 Soissons, battle of, 16.
 Sorbonne, college of the, 95, 96.
 States-General, 267, 268, 269.
 St. Bartholomew, massacre of, 186, 187, 188.
 St. Bernard, 70, 71.
 St. Cloud, 18.
 St. Dennis, abbey of, 20.
 St. Germain, count de, 251.
 St. Just, M. 299.
 St. Pierre, Eustace, 109, 110, 111.
 St. Simon, marquis de, 256.

Sully, d. of, 195, 197, 198, 199, 200,
204.
Syagrius, 16.

T.

Tallard, marshal, 225, 226.
Talleyrand de Perigord, 274.
Templars Knights, 58, 99, 100.
Ternay, chev. de, 255.
Thoedebald, 21.
Theodebert, 18.
Theoderic, 15.
Thierry, 16, 17, 18, 21, 26.
Thomas a Becket, 71, 72.
Thou, M. de, 211.
Ticonderoga, siege of, 245.
Tiers Etat, 68, 97, 100, 267, 268,
270.
Tournay, siege of, 237, 239.
Tourville, adm. 223.
Transtamara, count of, 118.
Triple League, 218.
Tronchet, M. 299, 300.
Troubadours, 81, 82.
Truguet, admiral, 296.
Tuilleries, built, 217; attacked, 285.
Turenne, marshal, 214, 215, 216,
218, 219, 220, 225.
Turgot, m. 250, 251.

U.

United States, independence of,
252, 260.
Utrecht, treaty of, 228.

V.

Valence, gen. 297.
Vauban, 219.
Vaudreuil, marq. of, 258, 259.
Vergennes, count de, 249, 260.
Versailles, palace of, 217.
Vidal, Peter, 87, 88.
Villars, marshal, 225, 228.
Villeroy, marshal, 223, 224, 226.
Visigoths, 12, 13, 14, 15.
Voltaire, 261.

W.

Washington, gen. 243, 252, 255,
256, 272, 293.
William I. duke of Normandy, 45,
46.
William the Conqueror, 53, 54, 55,
56.
Wolsey, cardinal, 165, 167.

Y.

Yorktown, capture of, 256, 257.

THE

HISTORY OF FRANCE.



CHAPTER I.

THE FIRST, OR MEROVINGIAN RACE OF KINGS.

From the Foundation of the Monarchy by Clovis, to the Abdication of Carloman, the last of the first race of kings.

A. D. 486—750.

THE kingdom of France extends over the greater part of that vast territory, known, to the ancient Romans, by the name of Gaul. Under this appellation, were included, also, the Cantons of Switzerland, and the Low Countries, or Holland. The former were inhabited by a people called the Helvetii; the latter, by the Belgæ: but, to these nations, were given, in the time of Cæsar, by whom they were reduced under the Roman power, the general name of Gauls.

In the reign of the emperors Valerian and Gallien, the Franks, a people of Gothic descent, were settled in Germany, between the Elbe and the Rhine. They received the name of *Franks*, or freemen, from their union to resist the domination of the Romans. We learn, from a medal of Constantine the Great, that there was, on the north side of the Rhine, in the beginning of the fourth century, a canton, which bore the name of Francia. A succession of kings began there, in the time of Honorius; the first of whom was Pharamond, followed by Clodion, Meroveus, and Childeric. These princes made occasional irruptions into Gaul; but none of them fixed his residence there; having returned to their own habitations, with their spoil, or been driven back by the Romans. But Clovis, the son of Childeric, was not so easily satisfied with plunder, nor so easily repulsed. He passed the Rhine, at the head of a numerous army, and founded the monarchy of FRANCE, or the LAND OF FREEMEN, in that great and fruitful province.

It was in the fifth year of his reign, and the twentieth of his age, that he entered upon the execution of this great design.

The condition of the Franks, resembled that of almost every other nation, in their primeval state. More jealous of liberty, than desirous of obtaining the luxuries of life, they were strangers to silver and gold; and all their commerce was carried on by exchange. Their forests were their only towns: their houses consisted of subterraneous caverns, or of rustic habitations, composed of wood, cemented with clay. Their possessions were confined to such lands, as the prince or the magistrate distributed amongst them, every year, according to their services, or rank. Their hospitality was a theme of universal admiration. Their houses were always open to the stranger; who was treated with kindness, as long as he chose to remain; and, at his departure, was loaded with presents. Their religion was not less simple, than their manners. The sun, the moon, fire, trees, and rivers, were their deities. Their temples were rocky caverns, or the most gloomy recesses of their forests, impenetrable to the light of day. Human victims, sheep, wolves, and foxes, were the sacrifices, offered by them to their gods; and their priests were less deeply versed in theology, than magic.

The principal amusements of their children, were wrestling and riding. Their arms were the sword, the lance or halbert, the sling, the mallet, the javelin, the battle-axe, and a species of heavy club. Their shield was oblong, composed of osier twigs, or the bark of trees; this, with a cuirass, covered with the skin of a bear, or wild boar, and a helmet crested with a horse's tail, dyed red, formed their only armour.

Such, were the ancient Franks, or Germans; who were often attacked, sometimes beaten, but never totally subdued, by the Romans.

Gaul was, at this time, divided amongst the Visigoths, the Burgundians, and the Romans. The Roman territory extended along the Rhine; and comprised nearly all the provinces between that river, the ocean, and the Loire. The Burgundians possessed those parts between the Saone and the Rhone; and several towns, on both sides of these rivers. They were masters of Lyons, Vienne, and Geneva: they spread as far as that country now called Dauphiné, and

also the province between the Durance and the Rhone, and Savoy. The Visigoths occupied the rest of the country, from the Loire, to the Alps and Pyrenees. The young king Alaric then reigned over the Visigoths; Gondebald and Gondegesile, over the Burgundians. Italy was in the possession of Theoderic, king of the Ostrogoths; the Roman Empire, the seat of which was Constantinople, was subject to Anastasius; who, less hostile to the Franks, than to Theoderic, and the other chieftains by whom the empire had been dismembered, was desirous of being at amity with Clovis.

The ordinary residence of the Roman general, who had then the charge of Gaul, was Soissons; where, he was attacked by Clovis, and entirely defeated; after which overthrow, the Roman power, in Gaul, before rapidly declining, was totally extinct.

In the age immediately preceding the irruption of the Franks, learning flourished in Gaul; and this country had as extensive a commerce, as any part of the Roman empire, Italy excepted. Marseilles was the chief emporium of its commerce. The Gauls had long been completely Romanized; and the Latin was the common language of the nation.

491. Clovis being, at this time, a pagan, his marriage with Clotilda, a Christian princess, niece of Gondebald, one of the Burgundian kings, was an event, very gratifying to the Gauls, lately subjected by Clovis; they being themselves of the Christian faith. The Visigoths and Burgundians were Christians of the Arian sect; the Gauls, recently brought under the dominion of Clovis, were of the Roman Catholic persuasion.

But the marriage of his niece, to Clovis, was not altogether pleasing, to the Burgundian prince. The ambassador of the former, had not proceeded far, with Clotilda, in her journey towards his kingdom, when, the princess, having received advice, that a party was likely to be despatched, by her uncle, to bring her back, told her conductor, that, if he desired to carry her, in safety, to the country of the Franks, they must quit the carriage in which they travelled; which being drawn by oxen, made but slow progress. Upon this, he set her on horseback, left a guard with the chariot, and then went forward, with great expedition, till they reached the frontier of the kingdom.

The necessity of this precaution, was soon apparent. A detachment of horse, sent after the princess, overtook the

chariot, and carried it back ; together with the greater part of the money, and other articles of value, given to Clotilda, as a marriage portion.

495. Although, being a Burgundian, Clotilda had been nursed in the bosom of the Arian church, she had lately embraced the Roman Catholic faith. She was assiduous in her endeavours to convert her husband to Christianity; and was at length rendered successful, by a fortunate occurrence. In a battle with the Allemanni, who had passed the Rhine, with the intention of driving the Franks from the countries which they had conquered, Clovis, being hard pressed by the enemy, made a vow, it is said, that if he were victorious, he would embrace the religion of Clotilda; and, having gained the battle, he accordingly, when arrived at Rheims, was there baptized. Three thousand of the most considerable persons of his court and army, followed his example, on the same day; and Christianity was, in a short time, embraced, by all the royal family, and by almost the whole nation of Franks.

Clovis, being then the only monarch of the Roman Catholic religion, was particularly honoured, by the pope. He was considered worthy to bear the title of the Most Christian; by which, he and his successors, with only one exception, have ever since been distinguished.

The result of the several conflicts, maintained, by Clovis, with the Burgundians, was of less importance, than his war with Alaric, king of the Visigoths. This was one of the most glorious of all his expeditions, made the greatest alteration in Gaul, and enabled him to extend, still further, the boundaries of his dominions.

Alaric ascended the throne of the Visigoths, about the same time that Clovis began to reign over the Franks. They were both nearly of the same age; but the incidents of their lives, had, till then, been very different. Alaric had found a fertile country in Gaul, already conquered. Clovis made his way, to his kingdom, by the sword. The one had enjoyed uninterrupted peace; the other had always been engaged in war. Clovis had the reputation of an accomplished soldier, successful and victorious, in all his undertakings; Alaric, that of a wise and moderate prince, who, when the neighbouring states were continually harassed, by foreign or domestic wars, preserved his own kingdom, from being disturbed by the din of arms.

507. It was discovered, that Alaric was forming an offensive league, with Theoderic; and making clandestine preparations to surprise Clovis, while he amused him with the appearance of perfect friendship. But Clovis was soon aware of this design. He not only stood upon his guard, but was first ready to take the field. He entered Poictou, at the head of an army, and met Alaric on the plain of Vouillé.

At the first onset, the Visigoths were driven back: but an accident occurred, which, for some moments, held the issue in suspense. The two kings, who rode along the ranks, to encourage their men, encountered each other, in the midst of the field of battle. Every eye was turned towards the interesting scene. Every sound was hushed, save the clashing of the royal arms. Both sides stood still, waiting the event of a single combat, that was, in all appearance, to decide the fate of the two nations. They made many pushes at each other, and many blows were given, by each prince, which they warded off with their shields; but, at length, Clovis dismounted his antagonist, and gave him, at the same time, a stroke, of which he quickly died.

It was not difficult, to complete the overthrow of an army, that had already begun to turn their backs. The Visigoths, after this defeat, were able to preserve only a small part of the territory possessed by them, in Gaul. Clovis detached a numerous body of troops, under his son Theoderic (or Thierry); who, treading in his father's steps, signalized himself by the conquest of Albi, Rouergue, and Auvergne; and of nearly all the places held by the Visigoths, on that side, as far as the frontiers of Burgundy; and, at the same time, Clovis himself brought under obedience, Touraine, Poictou, Limosin, Perigord, Xaintogne, and Angoumois; carried his conquests into Armorica or Brittany; compelled the kings of the latter country to relinquish the royal title, for that of duke; and finished the campaign, with the taking of Bourdeaux.

508. Clovis was not yet satiated with conquest. He availed himself of the favourable tide in his affairs. In the ensuing spring, he began with the siege of Toulouse, the capital of the Visigoths; which having reduced, he there found the treasures of Alaric. Thence, he proceeded to Tours, as well with the design of performing his devotions in the church of St. Martin, as of receiving ambassadors,

sent to him, by Anastasius, emperor of the East; and, after these ceremonies, he went to Paris, which, in the same year, he fixed as the capital of his kingdom.

Paris, named, by Julius Cæsar, Lutetia, was, in his time, comprised within the narrow limits of that island in the Seine, now called the Island of Notre Dame; and did not cover one-twentieth of the area of the present city.

To atone for some enormities, of which Clovis, in common with nearly all the sovereigns of that age, had been guilty, he founded monasteries, and erected churches; the most efficient mode, according to the superstitious practice, then encouraged, by the Roman clergy, of obtaining forgiveness, for every crime. He also assembled, at Orleans, a council of bishops, the first held in Gaul, under the dominion of the Franks.

This is the last act, of importance, recorded of this famous prince. In the month of November, in the same year, he died, at Paris, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and thirtieth of his reign.

Clovis signalized himself more, by his valour and his conquests, than any other sovereign of his time. The design of becoming sole and absolute monarch of all Gaul, was his ruling passion. Could he have moderated this desire, his reputation had been more illustrious, and the last years of his life, more innocent; nor should we have blamed in Clovis, the Christian, such cruelties, as are opposite to the soft and humane disposition, for which he was admired, when a Heathen.

The kings of the Franks were invested with high authority; but were, at the same time, restrained by laws, which they did not dare to violate. After having gained the victory over Syagrius, the Roman general, at Soissons, Clovis wished to present, to a bishop, a superb vase, which had been taken in the pillage of the town; but, one of the Franks, a soldier of a fierce and independent spirit, struck the vase, with his battle-axe; declaring, with ferocity, that the plunder must be shared, by lot, and that the king himself had no better right.

The death of Clovis was a severe blow to the grandeur of the French monarchy. He left four sons; who divided his extensive dominions amongst them. Thierry, the eldest, had the largest share. He was king of Austrasia; which comprehended not only the north-eastern part of

France, but also the German conquests of his father. His seat of government, was Metz. The other three kingdoms took the name of their respective capitals. Clodomir was king of Orleans; Childebart, of Paris; and Clotaire, of Soissons.

This division of the empire, not only weakened its force, but caused also most deplorable quarrels. The brothers became enemies, whenever their interests jarred. The most dreadful barbarities were the consequence of these dissensions; and, mean while, a new and unexpected enemy arose. An army of Danish pirates, entered the Meuse, and ravaged the country, between this river and the Rhine. Thierry sent against them his son Theodebert, then about eighteen years old, with a fleet and a land-force. The enterprise was happily conducted. This young prince, who afterwards became formidable to the most powerful enemies of France, defeated the Danes, both by land and sea, took many prisoners, and seized upon all their spoil.

512. Sigismond, the son and successor of Gondebald, king of Burgundy, having been defeated, in battle, by the Franks, and fallen into the hands of his nephew, Clodomir, was carried prisoner to Orleans, together with his queen, and his two sons. But Godemar, the brother of Sigismond, soon raised another army, and recovered, in a few days, all that the Franks had taken. This reverse did not dishearten Clodomir, who resolved to continue the war. Fearing, however, that Sigismond, with his wife and children, might, in his absence, escape, the ties of consanguinity were rent asunder, and he put them to death, by a mode, then not unusual in France—throwing them into a well.

The two armies joined at Vesperonce, not far from the Rhone and the town of Vienne. Godemar was defeated here, also; but escaped. The defeat, however, was fatal to the victor. Clodomir, in the heat of pursuit, was carried, by his horse, into the midst of the enemy; and, being discovered, by his long hair, was slain. Godemar, having taken off his head, stuck it upon the point of a lance; and then, rallying some battalions, retook the field; hoping that the loss of their king, would induce the Franks to lay down their arms. But the event was otherwise. Animated by a desire of revenging the death of their victorious chief, their courage was changed to fury; and, falling upon the

Burgundians, they cut them to pieces, and left not their ill-fated country, until they had entirely laid it waste.

553. The beginning of this year, was marked by a most cruel and barbarous act. Childebert and Clotaire persuaded their mother, Clotilda, to bring to Paris the three sons of their deceased brother, Clodomir, under a pretence of putting them into possession of their father's kingdom; but, in reality, with a design of murdering them. Clotaire stabbed two of them, with his own hand; Clodoalde was conveyed away, out of his reach, received the tonsure, and became a monk.

The church and village of St. Cloud, are named after Clodoalde; and in the former, he was interred.

On the death of Thierry, king of Austrasia, his son Theodebert was declared his successor. The king of Burgundy was unable to withstand the powerful alliance now formed against him, by the two uncles and the nephew. After the loss of a battle, he was forced to yield, was taken, and imprisoned in a castle, where he ended his days.

Thus, the kingdom of Burgundy was united to France, about one hundred years after its foundation, and the three kings divided it amongst them.

558. By the death of his two brothers and his nephew, Clotaire became sole monarch of the French empire. But he enjoyed this great accession of power, only for a short time. When hunting, in the forest of Cuise, he was seized with a fever; and, having been carried to Compeigne (at that time, only a pleasure-house) he died, there, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and the fifty-first of his reign; exclaiming, with his latest breath, "How great, 562. must that King of Heaven be, who destroys, when he pleases, the greatest kings on earth!"

Clotaire was a crafty and cruel prince; having scarcely any good qualities, except valour, intrepidity, and a talent for war; which were inherited, in common, by all the male children of Clovis.

He left four sons—Chilperic, Charibert, Gontran, and Sigebert.

The experience of the evils arising from the division of the French monarchy, amongst the sons of Clovis, did not prevent a similar partition, after the death of Clotaire. His four sons apportioned the four kingdoms amongst them, by lot. The kingdom of Paris fell to Charibert; Soissons, to

Chilperic; Austrasia, to Sigebert; and Orleans, to Gontran; in whose lot, was also included the Burgundian realm; which had been conquered by the united forces of Childebert and Clotaire.

This new division was followed by consequences, still more fatal, than the former.

Brunehaud, princess of Spain, wife of Sigebert, and Fredegonda, wife of Chilperic—two queens, who might be called furies, rather than women—sacrificed every thing to their ambition. Their mutual hatred, conjoined with their influence over their husbands, produced a series of crimes, alike ruinous to the royal family, and the people.

Two kings, and several princes of the royal blood, were, by their means, murdered.

575. Chilperic being besieged, in Tournay, by Sigebert, without any hope, either of relief, or escape, his queen, Fredegonda, sent, to the latter, two resolute assassins, in the peaceful character of negotiators; who, under a pretence of proposing an accommodation, stabbed him, through the heart.

The face of affairs was, by this event, in a moment changed. The siege of Tournay was quickly raised. Fredegonda despatched a messenger to Paris, to inform those of her faction, there, of what had happened, and ordered them to seize upon the queen of Austrasia, the widow of Sigebert; who, with her children, had come to that capital, to meet her husband. Brunehaud and her children were taken into custody. This was Chilperic's shortest way to become master of Austrasia. Treachery and murder seemed, for a while triumphant. But he was defeated in this criminal attempt. Gondebaud, one of the generals of the Austrasian army, having bribed or overreached the guards, let down the young prince, Childebert, in a sack, through a window, and carried him to Metz; where he was placed upon his father's throne.

584. In the summer of this year, Chilperic, king of Soissons, died, by the hand of an assassin, supposed to have been employed by his own queen Fredegonda.

613. After the murder of many other princes, and many years of civil war, carried on with a most vindictive spirit, Clotaire II., son of Chilperic and Fredegonda, became sole monarch of France.

Fredegonda was allowed to die, by the hand of nature; but her rival in atrocity, Brunehaud, was put to death, in a

manner corresponding with the cruelties committed, by her, upon others. Having reproached her, besides other crimes, with the murder of ten princes, Clotaire delivered her to the executioner; who, for three successive days, inflicted upon her every species of torture. After this, she was placed upon a camel, and compelled to ride through all the camp, where the soldiers offered her a thousand insults; and at length one of her feet and an arm were tied to the tail of a wild horse; which, dragging her around the camp, tore her to pieces: and thus ended her dreadful punishment. Her body was then thrown into a fire, and burned to ashes.

The tortures inflicted upon Brunehaud, are shocking to humanity, at this enlightened period of the Christian world; yet, Clotaire, by whom they were directed, was of a disposition widely different from that of his atrocious parent. He re-established tranquillity, gained the hearts of his people, by his justice and generosity, and attached the nobles to him, by augmenting their importance.

He committed the government of Austrasia and Burgundy, to officers, called Mayors of the Palace; a sort of viceroys; who, daily acquiring power, at length made their way to the throne.

The office of mayor of the palace, was originally confined to the direction of the king's household: the mayors, afterwards, became the first ministers of state, and, at length, commanders-in-chief of the armies; and assumed the title of duke of the French, or, sometimes, that of viceroy. At first, they were subject to removal, at the king's pleasure: they had afterwards the address to secure their office for life, and, in the course of time, to render it hereditary, and transmit it to their sons.

628. The vices of Dagobert, the son of Clotaire; (in whose person, the whole French monarchy, on the death of his brother Charibert, was a fourth time united under one king;) the taxes with which he loaded the people, to furnish his debauches, or to enrich the church, in order to atone for them; weakened the royal authority, at the same time that they debased it.

He founded the abbey of St. Dennis, so long famous for being the burial-place of the kings of France; and bequeathed eight thousand pounds weight of lead to cover it; which was his last attempt to bribe Heaven to forgive his sins.

638. His two sons, Sigebert II. and Clovis II., were only the founders of monasteries. They were ciphers in their kingdom: the actual sovereigns were the mayors.

654. On the death of Sigebert, Grimoalde, mayor of Austrasia, placed his own son, Childebert, upon the throne of that kingdom. The usurper was deposed: but the seductive example remained, as a lure, to future ambition.

The succeeding princes, Clotaire III., Childeric, and Thierry, sons of Clovis II., were as weak as their predecessor. They were no more than decorated pageants, occasionally shown to the people.

663. Clotaire having died, Thierry was seized, by his surviving brother, and forced to retire to the abbey of St. Dennis. But Childeric did not long enjoy the sole government, which he had thus violently usurped. He was naturally of a hasty temper; and, being one day angry with a certain lord, named Bodillon, ordered him to be tied to a post, and receive a thousand blows. Exasperated at such degrading treatment, the insulted noble conspired against him, formed an ambuscade in a forest, where Childeric, with his queen, and one of his children, was slain.

Such, is the consequence of haughty insult, followed by revenge; by which, the innocent too often suffer with the guilty; and thus, has another horrid scene been added to the frightful picture of those savage times.

714. After the death of Pepin d'Heristal, duke of Austrasia—who, by restoring national assemblies, which the disposition of former monarchs had abolished; by turning the restless impetuosity of the French against foreign enemies; and by other wise measures, had, as mayor of the palace, quietly enjoyed the supreme power, in France, during twenty-eight years—his authority passed into the hands of his widow, Plectrude; whose grandson, Theodebald, yet an infant, was created mayor.

Though, however, the insignificant kings were contented to live under the guardianship of a child, the government of a woman was ill suited to those turbulent times.

Charles Martel, a natural son of Pepin, was suspected of ambitious views, by Plectrude, and immediately imprisoned. But his confinement was of only short duration. He soon found means to escape, was received, by the Austrasians, with open arms; and his superior talents soon exalted him to the same degree of power, that had been enjoyed by his father.

716. Now master of France, he directed his attention principally to two objects: the first was, to reduce the German nations, that had shaken off the yoke of France; the second, to send missionaries to instruct the same people, and the other nations that had been subdued by this empire, and had not yet embraced the Christian faith. He attacked the Saxons, again imposed upon them a tribute; reconquered all the country, as far as the Weser; some time afterwards, caused the Allemanni to know his strength, and carried his arms as far as the other side of the Danube.

731. By a signal victory, he saved France from the sword of the Saracens, who had already subjected Spain. This people, the conquerors of the East and of Africa, had been invited into Spain, in the year 714, by count Julian; from a wish to revenge himself on Rodrigue, king of the Visigoths, who had repudiated his daughter. At an interview with Emir Mirza, lieutenant to Valid, caliph of the Saracens, he offered him his country, on condition of receiving immediate succour. They accordingly entered the dominions of Rodrigue, and committed most dreadful devastations. The king of the Visigoths was overcome; and was afterwards slain, in the pursuit. This victory decided the fate of the empire. The kingdom of the Visigoths, which had existed for more than three centuries, in Spain, was extinguished, and the nation almost totally destroyed. A small part, indeed, took refuge in the mountains of the Asturias, of Gallicia, and of Biscay; where they founded a new monarchy, under the conduct of Pelagus; from whom, the kings of Castile are descended. Some of them retired into France; and those who submitted to the Moors, preserved their religion, under the name of Mozarabian Christians.

Between Poitiers and Tours, Charles encountered an immense army of that nation, commanded by Abderamé, a soldier of high reputation; where, it is said, three-hundred-thousand of their number, together with their general, perished on the field. It was upon this occasion, some historians relate, that Charles received the surname of *Martel*; because he had so successfully used, against the Saracens, a kind of heavy weapon, called *martel*, which signifies, in English, a maul, or hammer.

By his wise administration, he kept all the neighbouring nations in awe; yet he would assume no higher title, than

that of duke of France; conscious that the title of king, could add nothing to his power.

741. Charles Martel died in the fiftieth year of his age; and, in the same year, died also Leo Isaurius, emperor of the East, and Pope Gregory III. Charles was buried at St. Dennis. The ancient historians describe him as a great man, a great prince, a great soldier, and a great statesman.

Although his victories over the Saracens, most probably saved Europe from the impending yoke of Mahomet, yet has his character been impeached, by the legends of the monks; who, resenting the freedom with which he applied the revenues of the church, to the defence of the Christian religion, have not scrupled to enrol him amongst the damned. In a letter, addressed to Louis, the grandson of Charlemagne, it is asserted, that, on opening the tomb of Charles Martel, the spectators were affrighted by the smell of fire, and the appearance of a horrid dragon; and that a saint of those times was indulged with a vision of the soul and body of the founder of the Carlovingian race, burning in the abyss of hell!

By his first wife, Charles had two sons, Carloman and Pepin; between whom, some time before his death, he divided the state which he had governed with so much glory.

745. But, amidst a most victorious career, against the northern enemies of the nation, Carloman embraced a measure, which surprised all France. He renounced his government, and entered upon a religious life; exchanging the exciting bustle of a court, for the dull inactivity of a monastic cell. He retired to Mount Soracte, now called the mount of St. Sylvester; where he built a monastery: and afterwards he went to Mount Cassin; where he distinguished himself as much by his sanctity, in private, as he had, before, by his prudence and valiant conduct in public.

Pecuniary fines were almost the only punishments, known in those days. Scarcely any other crimes than those which affected the state, were punished with death. The Salique law, (supposed to have been compiled by Pharamond) fixes the sums to be paid, to the king, by way of fine, and to the party injured, by way of reparation. The life of a bishop was valued at nine-hundred sols of gold; (each sol being about twelve shillings and sixpence ster-

ling;) that of a priest, at six-hundred; and that of a layman, at something less. If the assassin were insolvent, his relations, to a certain degree, were compelled to pay for him; and, if they were unable, he became a slave to the family of the deceased. The court sent commissioners, at stated times, into the provinces, to hear complaints, and report them to the king; and sometimes the monarch administered justice himself; on which occasions, the court was held at his palace-gate.

It may not be unprofitable, to inquire in this place, what is the origin of the *Salique* law; the most remarkable feature of which, is, that females, and even all males deriving their title through females, are excluded from the throne of France.—“While the Franks,” says the baron Montesquieu, “lived in their own country, their whole stock consisted of slaves, herds of cattle, horses, accoutrements, and arms. Lands for cultivation were assigned to them, by the state, for a year only, and, after that time, were resumed by the public. What, then, were the lands, to which the male issue succeeded? Every hut or cabin had a precinct of ground; and *that* was the estate which descended to the sons, or went in the male line. It was called *Salique* land, because the mansion of a German was called *Sal*, and the space enclosing it, *Salbac*, the homestead. When the Franks gained possessions in Gaul, they still continued to give, to their new settlements, the name of *SALIQUE* land; and hence, the law of the Franks, which regulated the course of descent, was called the *SALIQUE* LAW.

Regular troops were, at this period, unknown: each province had its militia; and those were generally commanded to march, that were nearest to the scene of action. It does not appear that the soldiers had any pay: their sole reward consisted in the booty which they seized. The prisoners were condemned to slavery; and hostages experienced the same fate, when those who gave them failed to perform their engagements.

CHAPTER II.

THE SECOND, OR CARLOVINGIAN RACE OF KINGS.

CHARLEMAGNE.

From the accession of Pepin, to the death of Lothaire; the last of the second race of kings.

A. D. 750—987.

THE retirement of Carloman, within the walls of a cloister, having left Pepin (surnamed the Short, and also the Younger, to distinguish him from his grandfather, of the same name) sole governor of the kingdom, he at length assumed the sovereignty, in name, as well as in reality; and excluded, for ever, the descendants of Clovis, or the Merovingian race, from the throne of France.

It had, for some time, been openly affirmed, that Pepin deserved to be a king; and he was so, in effect, though another possessed the title; but it had always been esteemed a crime, to deprive him of it. To remove this obstacle, which had stood in the way of all his predecessors, he thought that a service could be rendered, by the interposition of the pope. * Pepin had contracted an intimate friendship with Zachary, then in the chair of St. Peter; he consulted him upon all important questions of ecclesiastical discipline, with regard to the bishops and priests, monks and nuns; and caused to be read in council, his answers; which were always followed with respect. The pope found it his interest, to be on friendly terms with Pepin. On the point of being overwhelmed by the Lombards, and hated by the emperor, Constantius Copronymus, as great an Iconoclast, or image-breaker, as his father, Isaurius, he had no other dependence, except on France. Pepin was not ignorant of this; and discovered to him the design he had formed, of causing himself to be declared king. The danger in which Rome then was, of sinking under the power of the Lombards; the outrage of the emperor of Constantinople, against the catholic religion; the Saracens being masters of Spain; the German churches being, on all sides, exposed to the incursions of the neighbouring nations, who were pagans; the power and reputation of Pepin, who, only, was able to avert so many evils with which the church was threatened; the fatal consequen-

ces of his resentment, and the many advantages that would result from a good understanding between him and the holy see; the little injury which would thereby be done to a king who was not worthy of that title; and to a family, who, for a hundred years, had possessed nothing but the empty name: all these considerations moved the pope, and brought him over to the side of Pepin. He gave it, as his opinion, that, in the existing state of affairs, the person who possessed the authority, might join to it the name of king.

Pepin made a judicious use of this accommodating answer. He called an assembly of the nobles, at Soissons; where they confirmed all those reasons in his favour; and he was, accordingly, with his wife, Bertrude, placed upon the throne.

Childeric (the third of that name, whose father is not certainly known) was soon deprived even of the semblance of royal power. Having been first shaved—after this degradation, he was carried to the monastery of Sithien, now the abbey of St. Bertin, at St. Omer's; where he was admitted as a monk, and a few years afterwards, died.

He had a son named Thierry, who also closed his days within the monastic walls; and thus ended the race of Clovis and Meroveus; after they had reigned two-hundred-and-sixty-five years, in Gaul.

Other incidents occurred, to increase the importance of the new king. Astolphus, king of the Lombards, had, for some time, threatened Rome. He had lately taken Ravenna, from the exarch, Eutychius; and, as the authority of the exarchs of Ravenna, had always extended over the city of Rome, Astolphus pretended, that, being master of that city, Rome, also, should be subject to him, and acknowledge him as king. Refused assistance by the emperor of Constantinople, and seeing no prospect of an accommodation, Stephen III., the successor of Zachary, in the pontifical chair, had recourse to the king of France, and came for sanctuary, to Pepin's court.

754. The pope was not deceived in his expectation. He induced Pepin to wage war with the king of Lombardy; but, while France was making preparation for the contest, Pepin, who seldom failed to profit by any opportunity, was of opinion that some advantage might be reaped from the influence of the pope's presence, upon the minds of the French. He had been consecrated king, by

St. Boniface, bishop of Mayence; but was desirous of having the ceremony performed, again, by the father of the church; who readily consented. Queen Bertrude, and the two princes, Charles and Carloman, also, received the royal unction, from the hands of Stephen; who exhorted and conjured the French nobles, in the name of St. Peter, to maintain the crown in the family of Pepin.

Pepin, on his part, made a solemn promise to the pope, as did also his two sons, to protect the holy see. This engagement, he honourably fulfilled. In the following year, he led an army across the Alps; defeated Astolphus, in a sanguinary battle; compelled him to cede Ravenna, and many other places, to himself; and, as the exarchate, by this means, became his conquest, he made a grant of it to the pope and the Roman church, and sent the keys of the ceded towns to Rome; where they were deposited upon the tomb of St. Peter, to put him, and all his successors, in symbolical possession.

This is the origin of the temporal power of the popes.

The conquest of Aquitaine was the last exploit of Pepin. He was seized with a fever, at Xaintes; and, after he had lain some days, he caused himself to be carried to the tomb of St. Martin, and thence to St. Dennis; where he died, 768. of a dropsy, at the age of fifty four, in the seventeenth year of his reign, and twentieth of his government.

None of Pepin's predecessors, on the throne of France, was equal to him, in courage, prudence, and success, and all the great qualities that concur, to form an accomplished prince. Of the various modes, that serve to raise a man to a throne, who had not been placed there by his birth, he made choice of the least odious. He shed no blood, either in ascending to it, or maintaining himself on it; and so well did he establish his authority, that during his whole reign, there is no mention of a revolt, in France.

Pepin acquired the surname of Short, from his diminutive stature; which became a subject of pleasantry, to some of his courtiers. The king, being informed of their remarks, determined to convince them of their error; and, with this view, he caused a combat to be exhibited, at the abbey of Ferrieres, between a lion and a bull. The former having thrown down his adversary, Pepin turned to the noblemen that were present, and asked, which of them had

courage to separate or kill the furious combatants. The mere proposal made them shudder. Not one of them replied. "I will do it, then, myself," said the monarch, calmly. He accordingly drew his sabre, leaped into the arena, attacked and killed the lion; and then, turning to the bull, aimed so severe a blow at his head, that he separated it from his body. The whole court were astonished, at this prodigious exertion of strength and courage. The nobles, who had indulged their wit, at the expense of the king, were confounded. Pepin, turning towards them, exclaimed, in a lofty tone—"David was small; but he overcame the proud giant, who had dared to treat him with contempt."

This ferocious kind of amusement, was common, in those times. The kings not only exhibited combats of wild beasts, to the people, but frequently indulged themselves in this favourite sport, within the precincts of the palace.

The French government was now divided between Charles and Carloman, the two eldest sons of the late king. They were of very different dispositions. Charles was open and generous; Carloman, dark and suspicious. It was, therefore, happy for the nation that the latter died soon after his father; as intestine wars might have continually resulted, from the opposite tempers, and jarring interests, of the two brothers.

772. Now alone, at the head of a powerful kingdom, the great and aspiring genius of Charles, (subsequently entitled *Charlemagne*, or Charles the Great,) soon gave birth to projects, that will render his name immortal.

But, before we proceed further, in the history of this illustrious reign, we must take a cursory view of the contemporary state of Germany. This extensive country was formerly possessed by a number of free and independent nations; who bravely defended themselves against the Romans, and were never totally subjected by them. On the decline of the Roman empire, many of these nations, allured by the climate of the more southern regions, emerged from their gloomy forests, and founded empires or principalities, in other parts; so that Germany, on the accession of Charlemagne to the crown of France, was occupied chiefly by the Saxons. They were as yet pagans. What was then considered as their territory, comprehended a vast tract of country, extending from Bohemia, to the Baltic

and German Ocean. This spacious empire was governed by many princes, independent of each other; and inhabited by various tribes, who had become tributary to the French crown. But this kind of subjection was borne by them with great impatience. At any time, when the French throne was vacant, or the kings were engaged in war, the Saxon princes burst the fetters which had bound them, and invaded the territories of France. Charles had occasion to quell one of these revolts, immediately after the death of Carloman; and the work was not completed, when his arms were wanted in another quarter.

The two brothers are said to have married two daughters of Desiderius, king of the Lombards. Charles had divorced his consort, because she had borne him no children; and married a Suabian princess, named Hildegarda. Bertha, the widow of Carloman, not thinking herself and children safe in France, after the death of her husband, retired into Italy, and implored the protection of her father; who received her and her family, with joy. Highly incensed against Charles, for having divorced his daughter, Desiderius hoped, by means of these refugees, to raise such disturbances in France, as might both gratify his revenge, and prevent the French monarch from intermeddling with the affairs of Italy. Enraged at the refusal of pope Adrian, to crown and anoint the two sons of Carloman, he ravaged the papal territories, or, as they were called, the Patrimony of St. Peter; and threatened to besiege even Rome itself. This insult, though distressing to the pope, was yet fortunate for Charlemagne. Adrian sent ambassadors to Charles, not only to entreat his aid, but to invite him to the conquest of Italy. The French monarch did not reject the invitation. Having arranged a hasty accommodation with the Saxons, he immediately left Germany; crossed the Alps, by an unusual route; entered Italy unmolested; forced Verona to surrender; seized Bertha and her two sons, and sent them, under a strong guard, into France.

774. Pavia, the capital of Desiderius, soon afterwards shared the fate of Verona. The unfortunate prince was obliged to surrender himself, his wife, and his children, to Charles; who sent them also into France; and thus, ended the kingdom of the Lombards, in Italy, after having subsisted two-hundred-and-six years.

Of the state of Italy, at that time, it is proper that we

should here give some account. It was then held by the Venetians, the Lombards, the pope, and the emperor of the East. The Venetians had become very considerable, by their trade to the Levant; and exercised no small degree of sway in the affairs of Italy; though they had a very small portion of territory, on the continent. The pope was master of the exarchate and Pentapolis. The dukedom of Naples, and some cities in the two Calabrian provinces, were ruled by the emperor of the East. The other parts of Italy—the dukedom of Friuli, Spoleto, and Benevento; together with the provinces of Liguria, Venetia, Tuscany, and the Alpes Cotticæ—were called the kingdom of the Lombards. The latter, Charles now claimed, by right of conquest; and caused himself, in imitation of the Lombard princes, to be crowned king of Italy, with an iron crown; which was preserved in the little town of Monga, until lately removed, thence, to Paris, by a conqueror of still higher reputation, than even Charles himself.

Charles committed the boundaries of his new kingdom, and the territories of cities, to the care of counts; who were invested with great authority. These boundaries were called *marches*, and those to whom the care of them was committed, counts of the marches, or *marquises*; whence, the title of *marquis* is derived.

That Italy might retain at least some shadow of liberty, he convoked, as often as he returned to that country, a general assembly, of the bishops, abbots, and barons; in order to settle affairs of national importance. The Lombards had but one order, in their council—that of the barons: but, as the French had two—the clergy and the nobility—he added, in Italy, the order of the ecclesiastics, to that of the nobles.

In the absence of Charlemagne, the Saxons had again revolted. But, a detail of his wars, with that barbarous, though brave people, would afford little pleasure, to a humanized mind. After a number of battles, gallantly fought, and many cruelties committed, on both sides, during a period of more than thirty years, the Saxons were totally subjected, and Germany became part of the empire of Charlemagne.

Of the several forts erected by that people, to obstruct the passage of the French, the most considerable was Eresburgh, near Paderbourn. In this fort, was worshiped, in a rich temple, the idol Irmunstal, the tutelary deity of the

nation. Charlemagne besieged the place, got possession of it, carried off all the gold and silver of the temple, and spent three days, in razing it entirely to the ground.

A desire of converting the Saxons to Christianity, seems to have been one of the principal motives to their conquest. Charlemagne justly considered the mild doctrines of that religion, as the best means of taming a savage people: but he erred, in supposing that Christians could ever be made by force.

Besides the Lombards and the Saxons, whom he conquered, Charles vanquished, in several engagements, the Avars, or Huns; and penetrated as far as the Raab, on the Danube. He likewise made an expedition into Spain; and carried his arms to the banks of the Ebro. In repassing the Pyrenees, his rear guard was defeated by the duke of Gascony, at Roncevaux; and here fell the famous Roland, so much celebrated in romance, and represented as a nephew of Charlemagne.

War was then carried on, without any settled plan. The troops were neither regularly disciplined, nor regularly paid. Every nobleman led forth his vassals, who were obliged to serve only for a certain time; the army was dissolved, on the approach of winter, and assembled, the next season, if required.

800. Hitherto, Charles was honoured only with the title of king. But, an appellation, considered yet higher, was now conferred upon him, by the pope. On Christmas day, when the monarch was attending mass, in St. Peter's church, at Rome, the supreme pontiff advanced, and placed upon his head an imperial crown; and, having conducted him to an imperial throne, declared, that, he should thenceforth be styled emperor and Augustus.

The pope had surely no right to proclaim an emperor; though Charles was worthy of the imperial ensigns; and may justly be considered as founder of the new empire of the West.

Thus, the western empire, which had expired with Augustulus, in the year 476, was revived in the person of Charlemagne.

Though engaged in so many wars, Charles did not neglect the arts of peace. Government and manners, religion and letters, were his constant pursuits. He frequently convened the national assemblies, for regulating the affairs both of

church and state. The French nobles had been accustomed, from the foundation of the monarchy, to share the legislation with their sovereigns. He manifested a particular regard for the common people; and studiously promoted their ease and advantage. He repaired and formed public roads, built bridges, made rivers navigable for the purposes of commerce; and projected a canal, which would have opened a communication between the German Ocean and the Black Sea, by uniting the Danube with the Rhine; a noble project, which failed in the execution, for want of adequate machines.

The renown of Charles was not confined to Europe. It extended even into Asia. The famous Haroun Al Rashid, king of Persia, one of those khalifs who contributed most to enlighten and polish the Arabs, valued his friendship, above that of all other potentates; as a proof of which, he complimented him with an embassy, and ceded to him, if not the lordship of Jerusalem, as some authors affirm, at least the holy places in that city; whither, a great many Christians had already been invited, by religion.

Amongst the curious presents, brought to France, by the ambassadors of Al Rashid, was a striking clock; the first ever seen in that kingdom: for, notwithstanding the efforts of Charlemagne, to enlighten the nation, his subjects were not equal to those of Haroun, either in the liberal or the mechanic arts.

In the preceding reign, an organ had been sent, with other magnificent presents, from Constantinople; also a novelty in France; which Pepin gave to the church of St. Cornille, at Compeigne.

814. Charlemagne died, at Aix-La-Chapelle, his usual place of residence, in the seventy-second year of his age, and the forty-seventh of his reign. His body was deposited in a vault, in his chapel, at that place, seated on a throne of gold, arrayed in the imperial robes, with his sword at his side, the crown on his head, the Bible on his knees, and his shield and sceptre at his feet.

This great prince was not less amiable in private life, than illustrious in his public character. He was an affectionate father, a fond husband, and a generous friend. His house was a model of economy, and his person of simplicity and true grandeur.—“For shame,” said he, to some of his nobles, who were more sumptuously attired, than the occasion required; “learn to dress like men; and let the world

judge of your rank, by your merit, not by your apparel. Leave silks and finery to women; or reserve them for those days of pomp and ceremony, when robes are worn for show, not use."

Charlemagne was of gigantic stature; being almost seven feet high, and proportionably strong. His ordinary dress consisted of a plain doublet, which, in winter, was made of an otter's skin; a woollen tunic, fringed with silk, and a blue coat or cassock; with small-clothes and stockings, made of transverse bands of cloth, of different colours.

He delighted in the conversation and company of learned men; and drew them, by liberal encouragement, to his court, from all parts of Europe. He thus established, in his palace, an academy, of which he esteemed it an honour to rank as a member; and in the cathedrals and principal abbeys, schools; from which institutions, the universities of Paris, Tours, Thoulouse, and several others, are supposed to have had their origin. He was the first prince, after the subversion of the Roman empire, that made any attempt for the revival of letters, and the advancement of commerce, in the west of Europe.

But though he was one of the most learned men of the age, he could not write.

His dominions were immense. He possessed all France, the greater part of Germany, a part of Spain, the whole of the Low Countries, and the continent of Italy, as far as Benevento.

Under the first two races of the French monarchs, the commerce of France, was of small importance. It was abandoned chiefly to foreigners, who imported but few articles of value, into the kingdom. Spain supplied the French with horses and mules; Friesland, with various articles of dress; England, with corn, iron, tin, lead, leather, and sporting dogs; Africa and the East, with wine, gauzes, *papyrus*, or Egyptian paper—the only paper known in France, till the eleventh century;—and also with sweet oil. The exports from France, consisted generally of earthen-ware, copper vessels, wine, honey, madder, and salt.

The office of constable began, at this period, to acquire importance. The constable was originally intrusted with the care of the king's stables; his post was equivalent to that of "master of the horse;" and he had two officers under him, called marshals.

The general mode of deciding controversies, which the testimony of men proved inadequate to settle, was by duel; but there was another mode, not unfrequently practised, called "the judgment of the cross." In the decision of doubtful matters, two men were chosen, who, having been conducted to the church, stood erect, with their hands extended, in the shape of a cross, during the celebration of divine service; and the cause was determined in favour of him whose champion remained motionless for the longest space of time.

Eleven years before his death, Charlemagne had associated with himself, in the empire, his three sons, Charles, Pepin, and Louis. But the two eldest having died before their father, Louis, surnamed the Debonnaire, from the *mildness* of his disposition, now succeeded to the crown.

The empire of Charlemagne soon experienced the same fate with that of Alexander. It had quickly attained its height: it rapidly declined. Not yet sufficiently incorporated by time, the discordant elements, soon began to separate, under his pacific son; and that vast body was, in a few years, entirely dismembered.

The greatest error of Louis, was caused by his paternal affection, and a blind imitation of his father's example, in dividing his dominions amongst his children. Three years after his accession to the throne, he admitted his eldest son, Lothaire, to a participation in his French and German territories; declared Pepin king of Aquitaine, and Louis king of Bavaria. Bernard, king of Italy, was offended at this division. As the law of descents was not the same in that, as in the present age; or rather, as the rule was then unsettled; he thought his right to the empire superior to the claim of Lothaire; as his father, Pepin, was the elder brother of Louis. In contempt of the imperial authority, to which his crown was subject, he levied war against his uncle. But the malcontent prince, having been abandoned by his army, was made prisoner, and condemned to lose his head: his uncle, however, by a singular kind of lenity, mitigated the sentence to the loss of his eyes, which were bored out;—a common mode of punishment, at that time, in France. A few days after this cruelty was inflicted, Bernard died; and Louis, to prevent future trouble, ordered three natural sons of Charlemagne to be shut up in a convent.

The emperor was soon seized with keen remorse. At the

palace of Attigni, on the river Aisne, he impeached himself before an assembly of the states, and requested the bishops to enjoin him public penance; in consequence of which, the popes disregarded his authority, the bishops exalted themselves above the throne, and the whole fraternity of the church claimed exemption from all civil jurisdiction.

824. Louis had married a second wife, who brought him a son; afterwards known by the name of Charles the

Bald. She urged the king to place him on an equality with his other children: Lothaire consented to resign a part of his dominions to Charles, but soon repented of his concession; and the three brothers, by a most unnatural association, joined in a rebellion against their father. The emperor was abandoned by his army, and made prisoner, with his wife

830. and his son Charles. The empress was shut up in

a cloister; and Louis himself would have been constrained to assume the monastic habit, had it not been supposed that he would make a voluntary resignation of his crown. But he was treated with more lenity by his subjects, than by his children. Having acknowledged his errors, and promised to act with more circumspection, in future, the nobility pitied their humbled sovereign; and Louis was not only restored to his dignity, but seemingly reconciled to his rebellious sons.

The first use, made by the emperor, of his liberty, was to recall his consort; though not without the license of the pope; as she had formally taken the veil. But tranquillity was not long enjoyed by Louis. The empress brought her animosities to court. Her enemies were persecuted, Lothaire was deprived of the title of emperor, that the succession might be reserved for her son Charles; the three brothers formed a new league against their father; Gregory IV., then pope, went to France, in the army of Lothaire; and, after a deceitful negotiation, and an interview with Gregory, on the part of Lothaire, the unfortunate Louis was deposed, 833. in a tumultuous assembly, and Lothaire proclaimed, in his stead.

Louis was then a prisoner, in a monastery, at Soissons; and, being much intimidated, he patiently submitted to a ceremony, not less solemn, than debasing. He prostrated himself upon a hair-cloth, spread before the altar; owned himself guilty of the charges brought against him; read aloud a written confession, in which he was made to accuse him-

self of sacrilege and murder; and to number amongst his crimes the marching of troops in lent, and the taking up of arms, to defend himself against his rebellious children: then, by order of the archbishop, he laid aside his sword and belt, divested himself of his royal robes, put on the penitential sackcloth, and was conducted to a cell.

834. But affairs soon changed, in favour of the degraded monarch. Lothaire became an object of general abhorrence; his father Louis, of compassion. His two brothers united against him, in behalf of their much injured father; the nobility returned to their allegiance, and the ambitious Lothaire was obliged to crave mercy, in view of the whole army, at his father's feet.

Meanwhile, France was not wholly disengaged from foreign wars. Lothaire and his brother Pepin marched with an army, to prevent an invasion, by the Saracens, of Spain; and assistance was sent, by Louis, to the Neapolitans, (then under the government of the emperor of the East,) whom the Saracens of Africa threatened to attack. Louis despatched a fleet, under the command of count Boniface; who made a descent upon Africa, between Utica and Carthage. He was at first successful. He defeated an army of the Saracens: but, unable to advance a single step into the country, without meeting fresh armies, the very defeat of which would have destroyed his own troops, he re-embarked.

840. Louis died, near Mentz, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and the twenty-seventh of his reign. He had an agreeable countenance and deportment, was of a middling stature, but well proportioned; and possessed an extraordinary strength of body.

By too much affability and deference to the ecclesiastics, of whom his court was always full, he became contemptible in their eyes, and exposed to indignities, which he was forced to bear. He raised several persons of mean birth to the prelacy; who thereby became insolent. He had a great share of piety, but an equal littleness of spirit; and was fond of the church devotion, and the reading of holy books, to such a degree, as to neglect the business of state.

Charlemagne had given him a learned education. He understood Greek; a necessary acquirement, at that time, on account of the frequent embassies from Constantinople to the court of France; and spoke Latin, as fluently as his native tongue.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to render the history of the early ages of France, interesting. The incidents of one reign, seem a monotonous repetition of the events that have preceded. Revolts and invasions; rebellions of children against their parents; contentions amongst brothers; assassinations of kindred; and encroachments of the popes and bishops; are almost the only materials for the historian, arising out of those times of barbarism and superstition.

When the late king had become conscious of approaching death, he set apart a crown, a sword, and a golden sceptre, for Lothaire; and ordered them to be delivered into the prince's hands. To send him those insignia of empire, was to declare him emperor; but the present was accompanied with these conditions,—that he observed his engagement with his half-brother, Charles, and the empress; and gave them no trouble about that part of the succession, which he had yielded to them with the solemnity of an oath.

But oaths are not sufficient to bind a person of inordinate ambition. They are broken by him, with the same facility that they are taken. No sooner had Lothaire seen his father dead, than he designed to make himself master of the whole empire.

843. After many sanguinary battles, in which Lothaire was defeated, an accommodation was entered into, at Verdun. Louis and Charles yielded much, for the sake of peace; and consented to a new division of the empire. To Louis, king of Bavaria, was assigned all the country, belonging to the French empire, beyond the Rhine, together with the cities of Spire, Worms, and Mentz; and hence, we shall hereafter style him king of Germany. To Lothaire, besides Italy, with the title of emperor, were given, all the country between the Rhine and the Schelde, Haynault and Cambresis, and some other countries on this side of the Maese; from the head of that river, to the confluence of the Saone and Rhone; and, from that point, all the Rhone, as far as the sea, with the countries on both sides. Charles had all the rest of France, and bore the title of king of France.

844. The Normans did not fail to profit by the contentions of the brothers. We have already glanced at the descent made upon the territory of France, by parties of this nation; but never had that warlike people appeared so formidable, as in the present year. Every river, in the

northern and western districts of the empire, was now penetrated, by their innumerable vessels: but their most considerable expedition, was conducted by a leader named Regnier, who entered the Seine, with a fleet of six-hundred ships; and, after terrifying the inhabitants of Rouen, so as to cause their surrender, proceeded, without meeting any resistance, to the city of Paris, which was abandoned, on his approach.

That capital, and the surrounding country, became a scene of pillage and dismay. But the gold, by which the invaders were induced to retire from Paris, proved only a momentary relief. Like the ransoms, paid to the Vandalic spoilers of ancient Rome, it invited them to renew, rather than to discontinue, their hostile visits. They committed still further ravages, at Bourdeaux and Xaintes, and also, in Friseland; where their descents were so unexpected, and their victories so easily obtained, that they were to be seen, in different places, almost at the same time; and, if the inhabitants were not alarmed by their actual presence, they were terrified by the expectation of their immediate approach.

846. Nor were the Saracens much less active, in their plundering excursions, than the pirates of the north. They entered the Tiber, defeated a party of the emperor's troops, and pillaged St. Peter's church, at the very gates of Rome.

856. Having brought his affairs into such a condition, as to fear nothing from his neighbours, Lothaire left Italy, and made a journey into his dominions, on the north side of the Alps. This was the last movement of his life. He was struck with a mortal distemper; and the recollection of the many evils he had caused to the French empire, harrowed up his soul. Though he had lived a tyrant, he determined to die a saint. He ordered himself to be carried to the abbey of Prum, in the Ardennes; where he renounced the imperial dignity, had his head shaved, and assumed the habit of a monk; rather, we are inclined to suppose, to die in that character, than to pass his life in penitence; for his disease was beyond the power of medicine.—Six days afterwards, he breathed his last, in the fifteenth year of his reign, and sixtieth of his age.

As a curious monument of the ancient Roman language, (being a corruption of the Latin tongue) then spoken by the French, and from which their present language is derived,

we have placed, in a note, a copy of an oath, taken by Louis, king of Bavaria, as a vassal of his brother Charles.*

The French empire had been already much weakened, by the division amongst the three sons of Louis the Debonnaire. It was yet more enfeebled, by a new division, of that part which Lothaire, the emperor, had possessed, amongst his children; and still further, by the subsequent assignment of Aquitaine, by the king of France, to his son Charles. The raising of the latter to a throne, made a sixth king in the French empire; three of whom had the name of Charles, and two that of Louis. The territory held by Lothaire, was called, in Latin, Lotharingia; afterwards, in French, Lorraine: so that this name, now given to a province of less extent, is derived from the name of that prince.

875. The death of the emperor, Louis II., without male issue, was an event of some importance; and caused no small degree of intrigue, amongst the several members of the royal family. At length, the superior address of Charles the Bald, aided by the favours of the Roman pontiff, gained the imperial title and dominions for himself. He was crowned, by the pope, in St. Peter's church, at Rome, on Christmas day; the festival on which his grandfather, Charlemagne, had received the imperial crown, in the same church.

Various circumstances show, that the clergy now aspired to the right of disposing of crowns; a right founded by them on the custom of anointing kings. They employed both fictions and sophisms, to make themselves independent. They refused to take the oath of fealty; because sacred hands, could not, without abomination, submit to hands impure! One superstition produced another. Every thing

* "Pro don amur, et pro Christian poblo et nostro commun salvament, dist di en avant, in quant Deus savir et poder me dunat, si sal varai eo cest meon fradra Karlo, et en adjudha et in cadhuna cosa, si cum hom per dreit son fradra salvar dist, ino quid il imi altro si faret; et ab Ludher nul plaid nunquam prindrai, qui meon vol cist meon fradre Karle in damno sit."

In English: "For the love of God and of the Christian people, and for our common safety, from this day forward, so long as God shall give me knowledge and power, I will defend my brother Charles, and will assist him, in every thing, as a man, by right, ought to defend his brother, because he would do as much for me; and I will enter into no treaty with Lothaire, that, by my inclination, shall prove prejudicial to my brother Charles."

was sanctified by ignorance. We may, therefore, certainly conclude, that the usurpations of the clergy, were, in a great measure, caused by the abject superstition of the people,—equally blind, wicked, and devout.

876. Louis, king of Germany, brother of Charles the Bald, was succeeded by his three sons,—Carloman, Louis, and Charles; each of whom entered into that part of his dominions, which had been assigned to him. Carloman was called king of Bavaria; Louis, of Germany; Charles, of Allemania. But this division, however satisfactory to the brothers, was not acquiesced in by their uncle, Charles the Bald. He demanded a share in the succession, and a restitution of part of Lorraine, formerly wrested from him, by their father. Having amused the king of Germany with a treaty, Charles insidiously advanced against his nephew, and a battle was fought, near Megen, in which the emperor's army was completely routed. The horror of being in the dark, in a country with which the invaders were unacquainted, increased their consternation; and the emperor was obliged to fly, that he might not be surrounded.

The slaughter, made in the pursuit, was dreadful. A great number of prisoners was taken, and the emperor arrived, almost alone, at the monastery of St. Lambert, on the Meuse.

877. Charles was not allowed to have a long repose. Having provided, in the best way that circumstances would permit, for the safety of the country lying near the Seine, against the Normans, he led an army towards Italy; in conformity with a promise, made some time before, by him, to the pope. But, he did not reach the country of his destination. He fell sick, on the road; was poisoned, by a treacherous physician; and died at Brios, a small village, at the foot of Mount Cenis, in the second year of his empire, and the thirty-eighth of his entire reign, aged fifty-four.

He was a prince, brought sometimes by misfortune, and at other times by want of conduct, to the brink of ruin. He possessed much less courage, than artifice and cunning. His reign, as well as that of his father, Louis the Debonnaire, was the reign of the bishops. He was not, however, wholly destitute of praise; being commended for his love of letters, and of learned men. He was the most powerful of all the princes of his family; and, after him, none of Charlemagne's posterity, in France, had so extensive a dominion

Louis II., only son of Charles the Bald, surnamed the Stammerer, from an impediment in his speech, may be said to have purchased the crown of France, at the price, and on the conditions, imposed upon him by the nobility and bishops.

879. The reign of Louis was very short. He lived only eighteen months, after ascending the throne; and was succeeded by Louis III. and Carloman II., his two sons, by a wife whom he had divorced.

On the death of the joint kings of France, their half-brother, Charles, born after his father's death, and known by the name of the Simple, ought to have succeeded to the monarchy, by the right of birth: but, as he was very young, the nobles elected Charles the Fat (son of Louis the 884. German) already emperor, and successor to his two brothers. He re-united, in his person, all the French empire, except Provence, which had been erected into a new kingdom, by the intrigues of duke Boson (father-in-law of Carloman;) who was placed upon the throne, and fixed his residence at Arles.

The incapacity, and even cowardice of Charles, soon became too obvious to be denied. After disgracing himself, by ceding Friseland to the Normans, and promising them a tract of land for their forbearance, he roused them by his perfidy, and encouraged them by his weakness. Enraged at the death of their king, who had been invited to a conference, and murdered, they entered France, burned Pontoise, and besieged Paris.

886. This siege is much celebrated by the French historians. Eudes, count of Paris, who afterwards ascended the throne of France; his brother Robert; bishop Gosselin; and his nephew, abbot Eblé; were particularly distinguished, by their patriotism and valour. The besieged defended themselves, for a whole year, against an army of thirty-thousand men. At length, Charles appeared, with a great force, for its relief; fully persuaded, that the sight of his standard, would induce the Normans to retire. But he was soon made sensible of his error. They did not discover the slightest alarm. What, therefore, he could not accomplish by force, he purchased with his gold. He engaged to pay them a large ransom, for the safety of his capital and kingdom; and, what was still more disgraceful, he stipulated that the Normans should winter in Burgundy, which had

not yet acknowledged his authority; and in which they continued their ravages, with the most insatiable fury.

The emperor's reputation, already very low, was, by this ignominious treaty, entirely ruined. He had no minister, in whom he could confide; for he was neither loved nor feared. The Germans first revolted; a prosecution, commenced by him against the empress Richilda, completed 888. his disgrace; and he was at length deposed, in a diet of the empire, and to so great a degree neglected, as to be obliged to subsist by the liberality of the archbishop of Mentz.

Arnold, a natural son of Carloman, king of Bavaria, and grandson of Louis the German, was now raised to the imperial throne. Count Eudes, whose valour had saved Paris, and whose father, Robert the Strong, had been no less brave, than illustrious, was chosen king of France; a dignity which he agreed to hold, in trust, for Charles the Simple, yet a minor.

The high reputation of Eudes did not exempt him from being attacked, by the Normans. He was harassed by them, on all sides. An army of ten-thousand of that nation having got into the narrow lanes, near the town of Montfaucon, he sallied out of a wood, where he had been lying in ambuscade, with a thousand horse, and charged them, with so much impetuosity and courage, that they were entirely dispersed.

898. After the death of Eudes, Charles the Simple, now acknowledged king of France, in his own right, increased, by his weakness, the prevailing evils. The nobles openly aspired at independence. They usurped the governments with which they had been intrusted; and extorted confirmation of them, from Charles, for themselves and their heirs, on the easy condition of an empty homage. A large and well regulated kingdom was thus divided into a multitude of separate principalities, altogether independent of the crown, or dependent only in name; the possessors of which waged continual wars against each other, and exercised insupportable tyranny over their unhappy vassals.

The most powerful lords of the kingdom, at that time, seem to have been Foulk, archbishop of Rheims, Herbert, count of Vermandois, and Robert, brother of the late king.

The Normans were not inattentive spectators of these events. They took advantage of the state of anarchy and weakness, to establish themselves in France

Rollo, one of their most illustrious leaders, after having spread terror over all the maritime provinces of Europe, sailed up the Seine, fixed his head-quarters at Rouen, and soon became so formidable, that Charles offered him his daughter, in marriage, with a part of Neustria, as her dowry. The archbishop of Rouen was charged with the negotiation. He demanded only that Rollo should become a Christian. The Norman was influenced more by worldly

911. considerations, than religion. After consulting his soldiers, he agreed to the treaty; on condition that Brittany also should be ceded to him, till Neustria, then entirely laid waste by his countrymen, should be restored to cultivation. His request was granted: he was then baptized, by the name of Robert—nearly all his army following his example—and did homage for his crown; less as a vassal, than a victor.

Rollo proved himself equally skilled in the arts of peace, as those of war. The country ceded to him (thenceforth called Normandy, in honour of its new inhabitants) soon became flourishing and happy. He invited a great number of Scandinavians, to colonize his dominions; and, in a short time, not only was the new dutchy populous and well-cultivated, but the Normans were regular in their manners, and obedient to the laws. A band of pirates became good citizens, and their leader the ablest prince of the age in which he lived.

The only flaw in the character of Rollo, was, his barbarity to his wife; who, in consequence of ill treatment, died of a broken heart: and when Charles sent two officers to remonstrate with him on the impropriety of his conduct, he had them both put to death.

Meanwhile, great alterations occurred, in the neighbouring states, and amongst the princes of the blood of Charlemagne. The emperor Arnold was succeeded by his son Louis IV.; and, on the decease of Louis, without male issue, the empire departed from the French, to the Germans; from the family of Charlemagne, to those Saxons, whom he had subjected and persecuted; who became, in their turn, the persecutors of other pagans.

912. Conrad was the first German, that ruled the empire, after it had ceased to be an appendage of France.

There being no longer any French prince, on any throne, beyond the Alps, or beyond the Rhine, this history will, for the future, be confined to the affairs of France

Though the successors of Charlemagne possessed the empire which he had formed, by virtue of hereditary descent, they had usually procured the sanction of the nobles to their testamentary deeds, that no disputes might arise, with regard to the succession, after their death. This precaution was highly necessary, in those turbulent ages. But, what was, at first, only a politic condescension of the emperors, the nobles converted into a privilege; and hence originated the right of those electors, by whom the emperor was, until very lately, invested with the imperial powers.

Thus authorized, by custom, the German nobility assembled at Worms, on the death of Louis IV.; and, not judging Charles the Simple worthy to govern them, they elected Conrad, duke of Franconia.

This right of choosing an emperor, originally enjoyed by all the members of the Germanic body, was afterwards confined to eight of the chief members,—the archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, and Treves, the king of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony, the marquis of Brandenburg, (afterwards king of Prussia,) the count palatine of the Rhine, and the duke of Hanover, afterwards king of England.

922. The misfortunes of the imbecile Charles, did not terminate with the cession to the Normans. The throne itself was at length transferred to another. Indignant at the favours shown, by him, to his minister Hagano, a person of mean birth, several of the most influential nobles, at the head of whom was duke Robert, brother of the late king Eudes, joined in a rebellion, declared Charles unworthy to be their king, and raised Robert to the throne. A sanguinary battle was fought, near Soissons. The king and the usurper both signalized their courage. But Robert was killed; some historians say by count Gulbert, who carried the royal standard; others, by the king himself; who thrust his lance into his mouth.

The death of the hostile chief, did not, however, give the victory to the king. Hugh the Great, Robert's son, (thus named, by reason of his lofty stature,) reanimated the disheartened troops, and charged the king's army, with so much fury, that he put the whole to the rout, and caused the king himself to commit his safety to an ignoble flight.

925. The crown was now offered to Hugh the Great: but he declined it, and procured it for Rodolph, duke of Burgundy, who had married his sister; and was of course

the son-in-law of Robert. The imprisonment of the unhappy Charles, which immediately followed, ended only with his death. His queen, Ogiva, daughter of Edward the Elder, king of England, and grand-daughter of the great Alfred, escaped into her father's kingdom, with the young prince Louis, her son, then only three years old.

It would be difficult, to select a period, more crowded with disturbances, than the reign of Rodolph. The intrigues of the count of Vermandois, to whose treachery towards the late king, Rodolph was chiefly indebted for the crown, caused the new monarch to sit very uneasily on his throne. No honours, no immunities, no aggrandizements of territory, were thought equivalent to the treason, committed against his old master, and the services rendered to the new. But, notwithstanding the turbulent disposition of Vermandois, together with the hostilities of the duke of Normandy, and 936. the king of Germany, Rodolph resigned the sceptre only with his life. A reign of thirteen years, during which he had to contend against all the disadvantages of usurpation, shows him to have been a prince of consummate abilities and prudence.

No sooner was the death of Rodolph known, in England, than the widow of Charles the Simple, and her son Louis, employed their partisans in France, to obtain a restoration of the crown, to the posterity of Charlemagne. Athelstan, king of England, the queen's brother, and uncle to Louis, engaged William, duke of Normandy, to use his friendly offices with Hugh the Great, and the count of Vermandois, in favour of the prince. The interposition was successful. After an exile of thirteen years, young Louis landed at Bologne, whence he was conducted to Laon: where he was crowned and anointed, by the archbishop of Rheims.

It was not to be expected, that a youth of sixteen, but slightly acquainted with the affairs of France, would be fully equal to the administration of its government; yet he conducted himself with a spirit becoming his rank; though not without some degree of that imprudence which was natural to his age.

He attempted to rescue himself from the tyranny of duke Hugh; who allowed him little more than the name of king. But in this, he was defeated. After a variety of struggles, he was constrained to make peace with his powerful vassal, and cede to him the country of Laon.

943. The death of William the First, duke of Normandy, who was assassinated, after a conference, by the order of Arnulph, count of Flanders, caused a great many intrigues, in France. He left Richard, his son, a very young child, his successor. Upon this occasion, the king expressed a great deal of grief; and, having gone to Rouen, he assured the Normans, that he would severely revenge the murder of their duke. But, Louis had another design. He wished to secure the young duke's person, and drive the Normans out of France. They were not, however, without suspicion, that something unfair was intended. An insurrection of the people was excited; in which, the king incurred the risk of his life: but, he at length prevailed; and the Normans consented to let him take their prince, and educate him at his own court.

The design of the king, however, was defeated, by the escape of the young duke. Disguised in the habit of a groom, Osman, his governor, carried him away, one evening, on his shoulders, in a truss of hay.

A war soon afterwards ensued, between the French and Normans. The army of Louis, being surprised at Rouen, was quickly routed; and, unfortunately for this prince, the bridle of his horse having been cut, in the battle, he could no longer manage him, was pursued, and taken prisoner. An opportunity of enlargement, was, however, soon afforded. Eager to pillage the baggage of the French army, the guards that were placed upon him, rambled too far; and Louis mounted one of their horses, and escaped. But he was not yet out of danger. He was again taken. He was recognised, in his flight, by a Norman soldier; and the king, having no arms, was forced to yield. Induced, however, by the liberal promises made to him, by the captive monarch, the soldier did not inform his comrades of the greatness of his prize, but concealed him, in an island, on the Seine.

This was a painful situation for a king. He continued there for some time; but the soldier, being suspected, was taken into custody; his horses, his goods, of all kinds, with his wife and children, were seized; and every thing he possessed, was threatened with confiscation, if he did not discover where the king was hidden. The penalty overcame his resolution. He led a party of the Normans to the place of concealment, and Louis was again retaken.

The captors did not fail to profit by the possession of the

king. They made him swear, that he yielded anew, and confirmed to Richard, all that had been yielded to his grandfather, Rollo: and it was stipulated that neither Richard, nor his successors, should owe service for Normandy, except to God alone; so that the subjection of the duke, was thereby reduced to simple homage.

What the nature of this homage was, may not be fully known, to the majority of readers. It is thus described, in the English law-books, and is not unworthy of attention:—“Besides an oath of *fealty*, or profession of faith to the lord, which was the parent of our oath of allegiance, the vassal or tenant, upon investiture, did usually *homage* to his lord; openly and humbly kneeling, being ungirt and uncovered, and holding up his hands both together, between those of the lord, who sat before him; and there professing, that he did become his *man*, from that day forth, of life, and limb, and earthly honour: and then he received a kiss, from his lord:—which ceremony was denominated *homagium*, or manhood, by the feudists.”

But the homage of a proud and powerful chieftain, such as the duke of Normandy, was more frequently performed by a representative, than by the vassal himself.

954. Louis died, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, and eighteenth of his reign, in consequence of a fall from his horse, when hunting a wolf, on the banks of the river Aisne. He left a shadow of power, to his son Lothaire: or rather, Hugh the Great was pleased to grant him the title of king, that he himself might enjoy the power.

The late king left two sons,—Lothaire and Charles; the former, about fourteen years, the latter, about one year old.

Notwithstanding the vast power of Hugh the Great, and the desire probably felt, by him, of having one of his family again placed upon the throne, it was yet an enterprise which he durst not undertake. Three years before his death, Louis had wisely used the precaution to associate his eldest son, Lothaire, in the government, and have him recognised as king of France; so that Hugh chose rather to preserve to himself the power of a king, than to dispute about the title. In return for his promised friendship, he was made duke of Aquitaine; though he already enjoyed the honours of duke of France and duke of Burgundy, count of Orleans and Paris. He did not, however, long survive the honour last conferred upon him. As he was preparing for a campaign

956. against the inhabitants of Aquitaine, in order to obtain possession of that dutchy, he died at Dourdan.

This ambitious nobleman, not less formidable than the ancient mayors, was succeeded, in importance and abilities, by his eldest son Hugh, surnamed Capet.

Many of the vassals of Lothaire, held more towns and estates, than he possessed himself. He was reduced almost to the single city of Laon. One of his chief employments was to be the spectator, and sometimes the arbiter, of petty wars, which all those haughty nobles, were continually waging against each other. Sometimes, they surprised a city—sometimes, they took possession of a little town, belonging to a neighbour. At another time, this neighbour, by way of reprisal, sent whole companies of robbers against the estates of the first aggressor, to pillage them. Nor was the king himself exempt from these inroads. He was insulted, in the same manner, and defended himself in the same way; this day, joining the side of one lord—the next day, of another.

A war with Normandy, commenced for the purpose of conquering that dutchy, was less alarming to the French, than an invasion by the Germans. Enraged at the ravages, committed upon his territory, by Lothaire, the emperor Otho entered France, with an army of sixty-thousand men, penetrated as far as Paris, burned part of the suburbs, and remained encamped before the city, until he learned that the king was approaching, with a large body of forces, to intercept his return.

987. Lothaire died, at Rheims, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and thirty-second of a nominal reign; having had, after the example of his father, his eldest son, Louis, recognised, during his life-time, as king.

We have already mentioned, that, before the accession of Clovis, learning flourished in Gaul, and that the Latin was the vulgar language of the country. But, under the successors of that prince, literature greatly declined; the Latin tongue became gradually corrupted, and, before the end of the Merovingian dynasty, it ceased to be the common language of France. It was succeeded by the Romance—a mixture of the Frankish dialect and bad Latin—which was the language of France, in the reign of Charlemagne, and in those of his descendants; and, indeed, with many and gradual variations, for several centuries afterwards.

Great, were the efforts of Charlemagne, for the revival of learning, in his dominions. But, after the death of that enlightened monarch, the mists of ignorance, arising from the evils of anarchy, overspread the minds of men; literature, sciences, and civilization, were obscured, in the universal gloom. The period in which the Carlovingian dynasty ended, was the age of ignorance, in Europe. So profound was it, that scarcely did kings, or princes, or lords, much less the common people, know how to read. Hence, in a great measure, arose, the influence which the clergy began to acquire in temporal affairs; as they were the only persons that had any knowledge of letters.

Louis V., during a short and turbulent reign of fifteen months, governed, under the direction of Hugh Capet.

He left no children, to succeed him; and was the last king of France, of the Carlovingians, or descendants of Charlemagne; who had occupied the throne two-hundred-and-thirty-seven years.

The kings of this family had seldom any fixed residence, but were constantly travelling about, accompanied by their wives. Charles Martel and Pepin, when not in the field, resided most frequently at Paris; Charlemagne and his son, at Aix-la-Chapelle or Thionville; Charles the Bald, at Soissons or Compiègne; Charles the Simple, at Rheims; and Louis the Stranger, at Laon, the only place of strength in his dominions.



CHAPTER III.

THE THIRD, OR CAPETIAN RACE OF KINGS.

HUGH CAPET.

987—996.

CHARLES, duke of Lorraine, uncle of the late king, was his natural heir, and, according to monarchical rules, should have ascended the throne, after his nephew. But the aversion and contempt, conceived, in regard to Charles, by the French nation, for having made himself a vassal to the emperor of Germany; the hatred of the queen, whose reputation he had blackened, with most scandalous detraction; the unexpected death of the young king; and the af-

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fection of the nobles for Hugh Capet, owing to his valour and prudence, in the two preceding reigns; were the principal causes of raising the latter to the throne, and of excluding the natural heir to the crown.

A victory, gained by Hugh, over the duke of Guyenne, who had espoused the side of Charles, was a decisive stroke, in the present situation of his affairs. He did not neglect using his good fortune, to the best advantage. He soon afterwards obtained the consent of the lords, to make his son Robert a partner with him in the government; and, by that means, to secure to him the succession to the crown.

But Charles, though his fortune was now low, despaired not of ultimate success. He besieged and took Laon, then one of the strongest places in the kingdom; and there made prisoners the queen, and the bishop of Laon, his bitterest enemies.

Though Hugh Capet failed in reducing the place, by open force, he nevertheless got possession of it by surprise. Not having been kept in strict confinement, the bishop had given notice to the besieged, of the negligence with which the town was guarded; and, acting upon this advice, Hugh conducted his measures so well, that he surprised it, in the night. Charles fell into his rival's hands, was carried to Orleans, and soon afterwards died there, in prison; leaving Hugh Capet in quiet possession of the crown.

This prince died, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and the tenth year of his reign.

Though conspicuous for his valour, he was still more distinguished for his good management and prudence. He had the extraordinary honour of establishing a new family, and in some measure, a new form of government, with few circumstances of violence, and without the effusion of blood; and left a throne, to his posterity, upon which they are now seated, after a lapse of more than eight-hundred years.

By uniting to the crown, the dutchy of France, he again established the ordinary residence of the French kings at Paris; where it had been fixed by Clovis: but from which it had been diverted, during all the reigns of the second race.

France, from its dismembered state, was involved, during the reign of Hugh Capet, in poverty and barbarism. While the Greeks and Italians were famous for their beautiful manufactures, the French were unable to imitate them; as their cities were unchartered, and their country disunited.

Internal commerce was scarcely known; and the inhabitants of one province were frequently strangers to the distance and situation of the next. Few people could read, and still fewer could write: there were no title-deeds of estates, and no deeds or registers of marriages.

ROBERT.

996—1031.

The most remarkable circumstance, in the reign of Robert, is his excommunication, by the pope. He had espoused Bertha, his cousin in the fourth degree; a marriage not only lawful, according to our ideas, in the present age, and justified by the practice of all nations, but in this instance, Bertha being a sister of the duke of Burgundy, expedient for the welfare of the state.

But the clergy, amongst their other usurpations, at this time, laid the most essential of civil engagements under spiritual prohibition; which extended even to the seventh degree of consanguinity. Gregory V., therefore, undertook to dissolve the marriage between Robert and Bertha, though it had been authorized by seven bishops; and published an arbitrary decree, which enjoined the separation of the king and queen. As Robert persisted in keeping his wife, he incurred the sentence of excommunication; which had such an effect upon the minds of men, that the king was abandoned by all his court, and even by all his domestics, except two. Even these threw, to the dogs, all the food left by their master after his meals; and purified, with fire, the vessels in which he had been served.

The want of firmness, in the king, with regard to this distressing affair, is much to be lamented. Yielding to superstitious terrors, or afraid of civil commotions, he at last repudiated Bertha, and married Constance, a daughter of the count of Arles; in whom, he found an imperious ter-magant, instead of an amiable consort. Hugh de Beauvais, prime minister, enjoyed the confidence of his master; and to him he communicated the anxiety and uneasiness which he experienced, from the misconduct of his wife. This was sufficient to make de Beauvais an object of her hatred and revenge: she accordingly had him assassinated, in presence of her husband, who in vain endeavoured to save his favourite's life.

1031. Robert died, after a reign of thirty-five years, in the sixtieth year of his age; leaving three sons,—Henry, Robert, and Eudes.

The good works, in which he employed himself, without neglecting his several duties; and, above all, his great charity to the poor; gained him the surname of Devout; and his moderation, that of saint. He daily distributed food to three-hundred poor people, and sometimes to a thousand. Every Holy Thursday, he served them on his knees, and, being clothed in sackcloth, washed their feet. But his compassion for the poor sometimes betrayed him into acts of injustice. We are told, that, when he had no money to give them, he would tell them to go and steal, and would be angry if they were prevented. Helgaud, the monk, says, that rogues, under a pretence of begging, would frequently follow him into his apartment, and take from him whatever was of value, either in his pockets, or on his clothes. One of them, having cut off the half of a piece of gold fringe, was in the act of taking away the rest, when the king mildly requested him to be contented with what he had, and to leave the remainder, to satisfy the wants of his companions.

Notwithstanding the efforts of this prince to render his subjects happy, he had the misfortune to see his kingdom, several times, a prey to famine. The first was general, throughout Europe; but the second was confined to France, where it was attended with circumstances peculiarly horrid. There were people raging with hunger, in so dreadful a degree, that they dug up the dead bodies to eat: others seized upon the children in the streets, or way-laid the travellers in the fields and woods. At Tournus, in Burgundy, a butcher exposed human flesh to public sale; but a stop was put to this horrible traffic, and the brute who had carried it on, was condemned to the flames. Another man, who kept a public house, in a forest, near Macon, murdered his guests, and eat them. He was detected by two passengers, who were lucky enough to effect their escape; and, when his house was searched, eight-and-forty heads of men, women, and children, whose bodies had been devoured, were found; and the barbarous wretch experienced the same punishment as the butcher.

HENRY I.

1031—1060.

Henry I. the eldest son of the last king, was twenty-five years of age, at his accession to the throne. With all the spirit of a young man, he had the sagacity and prudence of one advanced in years; without which, the crown would soon have been shaken from his head. His mother, Constance, who had conceived towards him a most violent aversion, had drawn over, to her side, a number of lords and bishops, for the purpose of enabling her to place his younger brother, Robert, upon the throne. Henry, therefore, after some ineffectual struggling, was compelled to take refuge in Normandy; where he was well received, by the reigning duke; who, having assisted the exiled monarch with an army, the queen dowager and her faction were humbled, and Henry recovered all that he had lost.

The year had not expired, before he was obliged to take a part in a contest for the succession to the duchy of Normandy.

Following the impulse of a sort of devotion, then very much in fashion, Robert II. resolved to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He had no legitimate children; but only a natural son, then nine years of age, afterwards so famous, under the name of William the Conqueror; who had been recognised as his successor, by the lords of Normandy, and placed under the protection of the king of France.

1035. These wise precautions were not unnecessary; as Robert died, at Nice, in his return from the Holy Land. The duchy was soon overspread with civil war. The king went, in person, to join duke William; and a sanguinary engagement followed, in the valley of Dunes. Here, the king was in imminent danger of being killed, having been dismounted and thrown to the ground, by a famous knight, called Le Dentu. Some French knights placed themselves before the king, to give him time to remount; and Le Dentu, after receiving many wounds, died on the spot.

Notwithstanding the enemy's vigorous resistance, their army was cut to pieces; and, after many hard-fought battles, the rebellious subjects of the duke were subdued.

1060. Henry died at Vitri, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and thirtieth of his reign; having, the year be-

fore, had his eldest son, Philip, crowned—then, only seven years old.

The mother of this prince, was Anne, a daughter of Jaraslau, prince of Muscovy; to whom, the Europeans gave the title of Duke, and who was called, by the Russians, *Tzaar*, since corrupted into *Czar*.

During a part of this reign, the Roman church was governed by three anti-popes; who, by a convention, hitherto unexampled, agreed to divide the revenues equally amongst them, and to live in perfect union. The celibacy of the priests, though established in the western church, was but ill observed; the doctrine of transubstantiation was strongly combated in France, and the real presence of Christ, in the sacrament, formally denied.

PHILIP I.

1060—1108.

The late king Henry appointed, as regent, during the minority of his son Philip, Baldwin the fifth, count of Flanders. His conduct in that office justified the wisdom of Henry's choice. He was alike vigilant, with regard both to the foreign and domestic concerns of France.

1066. The first affair of importance, that demanded his attention, was the invasion of England, by William duke of Normandy.

The Norman prince founded his claim to the English crown, on a pretended will of Edward the Confessor (late king of England) in his favour. This claim he fortified by an oath, extorted from the present king, Harold, when shipwrecked, during the reign of his predecessor, on the coast of France; importing, that he would never aspire to the succession, and that he would even support the pretensions of the duke. But the will, Harold knew, to be fictitious; and the oath he entirely disregarded, as it had been drawn from him by the fear of violence.

A martial spirit had now diffused itself over Europe; and the feudal lords, elated by their princely situation, eagerly embraced the most hazardous enterprises, how little soever they might be interested in their failure or success. William had long been distinguished, amongst those haughty chieftains, by his power, his courage, and his address, in every military exercise; and all who were ambitious of ac-

quiring renown in arms, repaired to his court; where they were entertained with that hospitality and courtesy, which dignified the age. Multitudes of adventurers, therefore, tendered their services to William; who selected, from the whole, as many, as, when added to the Norman troops, made his army amount to sixty-thousand men.

The king of France being a minor, the regent of the kingdom, William's father-in-law, favoured the duke's levies, both in France and Flanders; and the emperor, Henry IV., promised to defend Normandy, during the absence of the duke; and thereby enabled him to draw his whole strength to the attack upon England.

But the most important ally of William, was pope Alexander II.; who had an extraordinary influence over the warriors of that age; and foresaw that, if the French and Norman barons were successful in their enterprise, they would carry into England, which still maintained some degree of independence in ecclesiastical matters, a more devoted reverence to the holy see.

William was not less favoured by circumstances which had recently occurred in England. Having quietly disembarked his troops, at Pevensey, in Sussex, he removed his camp to Hastings; where a most obstinate and sanguinary battle was fought, in which Harold and his two brothers were slain; and William gained not only the victory, but the crown of England.

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Oct. 1077. The frequent revolts of his English subjects, were not more harassing to the new monarch, than the rebellion of one of his own sons. Unable to prevail upon his father to grant him the dutchy of Normandy, his eldest son, Robert, obtained assistance from the king of France, and attacked the castle of Rouen; from which, he was repulsed, and retreated to Gerberoy.

Here, he was soon besieged, by William. In a sally, made by Robert, he unfortunately met his father; against whom, without knowing him, he ran his lance, which he had couched, wounded him in the arm, and knocked him off his horse. But, when he recognised his parent, the sentiment of natural affection withheld his hand: he immediately alighted, threw himself at his father's feet, made him mount his own horse, and allowed him to return to his camp.

Two years afterwards, William received his undutiful son into favour. But this reconciliation was of but short con-

tinuance. Upon fresh subjects of discontent, or under new pretences, the young prince again retired from court.

1087. The conviction of the king of England, that it was Philip who fomented the frequent rebellions of his son, was a sufficient cause of displeasure, against this prince; but, a jest of the king of France, upon the corpulence of William, furiously enraged him, and again lighted up the torch of war. After having ravaged the surrounding country, he laid siege to the city of Mante; which he took, and reduced to ashes, without sparing so much as a single church.

But the effects of his revenge were fatal to himself. Having gone too near the flames, he was much incommoded, by the heat; and, as he withdrew, he spurred his horse, to leap over a ditch, when the pommel of his saddle struck against his stomach, and caused an abscess within his body; of which, he soon afterwards died, at Rouen.

The conquest of the English crown, by the duke of Normandy, was not more remarkable, for its success, than the Crusades were, for their extravagance.

Pope Gregory VII., amongst his other vast ideas, had conceived the project of uniting the western Christians, against the Mahometans, and driving them out of Palestine. The work, however, was reserved for a meaner instrument; whose judgment was as weak, as his imagination was warm. Christians, from the earliest ages, had been accustomed to make pilgrimages to that country; where their religion had commenced, and its founder had died for their redemption. But an opinion, which now prevailed, that the Millennium, was at hand, increased the number and the zeal of the credulous devotees, who undertook this arduous journey. A general consternation seized the minds of Christians. Many abandoned their friends and families, and hurried, with precipitation, to the Holy Land; where they imagined Christ would suddenly appear, to judge the living and the dead. The followers and the countrymen of Mahomet, had given little disturbance to those zealous pilgrims, who daily flocked to Jerusalem: but, when the Turks, an uncivilized Tartar tribe, who had embraced the Mahometan creed, had wrested Syria from the Saracens, and taken Jerusalem, pilgrims were exposed to insufferable outrage.

While the minds of men were thus inflamed, a fanatical monk, commonly known by the name of Peter the Hermit, a native of Amiens, who had made the pilgrimage to Jeru

saalem, ran from one province to another, on his return, with a crucifix in his hand, exciting princes and people to the holy war; and the enthusiasm of Christendom being thus roused, by various incidents, a council was convoked, 1095. at Clermont, under the pontificate of Urban II.; where the Crusade was resolved upon, and the leaders chosen.

Persons of all ranks now flew to arms, with the greatest ardour. A great number of princes and nobles, especially of France, and the countries dependent upon that kingdom, entered upon the crusades: so called, from the figure of a cross, displayed in all their standards, and worn upon the shoulders of all the crusaders.

The most illustrious, for his birth, was Hugh, count of Vermandois, brother of the king. Raymond, count of Toulouse; also, Robert II., count of Flanders; Robert, duke of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror; and Stephen, count of Blois, all vassals of the crown of France; joined in this expedition. But, of all the daring spirits of the crusade, the most famous was Godefroy of Bouillon, duke of the Lower Lorraine; who was appointed commander-in-chief.

1099. To detail the long series of battles fought, and the miserable waste of life suffered, by those wild enthusiasts, would be inconsistent with the limits of this brief chronicle of leading facts. Six-hundred-thousand persons departed from their homes, in Europe: but forty-thousand remained, to behold the city of Jerusalem; and of these, only twenty-one-thousand were bred to arms. Opposed to them, were forty-thousand, within the city; supplied with munitions of war, and every thing required, in abundance.

The outer wall soon yielded, to a general assault. A Genoese fleet, which arrived at Joppa, brought a reinforcement of troops and warlike engines. As soon as the machines were ready, and the rolling castles, used, at that time, were built, an attack was made, upon the second wall, with pateros, balistas, catapultas, and battering rams. The assault lasted till night; which the besieged employed in repairing their breaches, and the besiegers their castles, which had been damaged, by battering the city.—The next morning, the assault was renewed, with redoubled fury. But the Christians, at length weary and dispirited with fatigue, began to recoil; which, duke Godefroy perceiving, he called out, with a loud voice, that the heavens declared for them.

and that he had just seen, on the mount of Olivet, a horseman, descending from the clouds, with a buckler, all sparkling with lightning; who, by his gesture, encouraged him to pursue his victory; and the count of Toulouse made a similar declaration, to the assailants under his command.

This artifice had the desired effect. The whole army believed in the reality of the vision; not doubting that it was St. George who promised them success. Having at length gained an opportunity of driving his rolling castle against the wall, Godefroy leaped upon it, accompanied by several other distinguished leaders, and drove the defenders from the works.

The greater part of the besieged took refuge in the citadel, situated where Solomon's temple once stood: but they were pursued thither, and so terrible a slaughter followed, that every thing swam in blood. In this place, alone, ten-thousand Mahometans were slain.

Thus, was the city of Jerusalem taken, four years after the crusade had been published in the council of Clermont; and Godefroy of Bouillon was declared king.

Amongst various other innovations, of greater importance, both in commerce and manners, the holy wars caused the establishment of the three religious and military orders of knights Hospitallers, Templars, and Teutonic knights.

Philip I. died, at Melun, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and the forty-ninth of his reign. He was well made, eloquent, agreeable, and moderate, except in his pleasures and amours; to which, he sacrificed his own repose, and the quiet of his realm.

At this stage of our history, it will be profitable to take a retrospect of the state of Europe. During the ninth and tenth centuries, the ignorance of the West was so profound, that the clergy, who alone possessed the important secrets of reading and writing, became the arbiters and judges of nearly all secular affairs. Every thing wore the colour of religion. "Redeem your souls from destruction," says St. Egidius, bishop of Noyon, "whilst you have the means in your power: offer presents and tithes to churchmen; come more frequently to church; implore the patronage of the saints: for, if you observe these things, you may come, with security, in the day of the tribunal of the eternal judge, and say, Give us, O Lord, for we have given unto thee!"

In several churches of France, a festival was celebrated,

in commemoration of the Virgin Mary's flight into Egypt. It was called the Feast of the Ass. A young girl, richly dressed, with a child in her arms, was placed upon an ass, superbly caparisoned. The ass was led to the altar, in solemn procession. High mass was said, with great pomp. The ass was taught to kneel, at proper places: a hymn, no less puerile, than impious, was sung, in his praise; and, when the ceremony was ended, the priest, instead of the usual words, with which he dismissed the people, brayed three times, like an ass; and the people, instead of the usual response, brayed three times, in return.

Letters began to revive in the eleventh century, but made small progress, until near its close. A scientific jargon, a false logic, employed about words, without conveying any idea of things, composed the learning of those times. From that era, we can trace a succession of causes and events, which contributed to abolish anarchy and barbarism, and introduce order and politeness.

Amongst the first of these causes, we must rank chivalry; which arose naturally from the state of society in that age; and had a most powerful effect, in refining the manners of the European nations. The education of a knight, generally commenced at seven or eight years; for no true lover of chivalry wished his children to pass their time in idleness and indulgence. The previous discipline and solemnities of initiation, were remarkable. The novice in chivalry, was educated in the house of some knight, commonly a person of high rank, whom he served, first in the character of a page, and afterwards of esquire; nor was he admitted to the supreme honour of knighthood, until he had given many striking proofs of his valour and address.

From the lips of the ladies, the gentle page learned both his catechism and the art of love; and, as the religion of the day was full of symbols, and addressed to the senses, so the other feature of his devotion was not to be nourished alone by abstract contemplation. He was directed to regard some one lady of the court, as the type of his heart's future mistress; she was the centre of all his hopes and wishes; to her, he was obedient, faithful, and courteous. While the young Jean de Saintr  was a page of honour, at the court of the French king, the lady des Belles Cousines inquired of him the name of the mistress of his heart's affections. The simple youth replied, that he loved his lady

mother; and next to her, his sister, Jacqueline, was dear to him.—“Young man,” rejoined the lady, “I am not speaking of the affection due to your mother and sister; but I wish to know the name of the lady to whom you are attached *par amours*.”—The poor boy was still confused; and he could only reply, that he loved no one *par amours*. The Dame des Belles Cousines charged him with being a traitor to the laws of chivalry, and declared that such an avowal evinced his craven spirit. “Whence,” she inquired, “sprung the valour and knightly feats of Launcelot, Gawain, Tristram, Giron the Courteous, and other ornaments of the round table, besides many more whom I could enumerate, except from the noble desire of maintaining themselves in the grace and esteem of the ladies; without which spirit-stirring sentiment, they must for ever have remained in the shade of obscurity; and do you, cowardly valet, presume to declare that you possess no sovereign lady, and desire to love none?”

The persecuted Jean at length named, as his mistress, Matheline de Coucy, a child only ten years old—“Matheline is, indeed, a pretty girl,” observed the Dame des Belles Cousines; but what profit, what honour, what comfort, what aid, what council, for advancing you in chivalrous fame, can you derive from such a choice? You should elect a lady of noble blood, who has the ability to advise, and the power to assist you; and you should serve her so truly, and love her so loyally, as to compel her to acknowledge the honourable affection which you entertain for her; for, be assured, that there is no lady, however cruel and haughty, but, through long service, will be induced to acknowledge and reward loyal affection, with some portion of mercy.”

The armiger, or esquire, prepared the refection, in the morning, and then betook himself to his chivalric exercise. At dinner, he, as well as the pages, furnished forth, and attended at the table, and presented to his lord and the guests the water with which they washed their hands, before and after the repast. The knight and the squire never sat at the same table; nor was even the relation of father and son allowed to destroy this principle of chivalric subordination. After dinner, the squires prepared the chess tables, or arranged the hall for minstrelsy and dancing; in which amusements, they were allowed to partake; and the service of the day was often closed, by their making the beds of their

lords, and presenting them with the *vin du coucher*, or sleeping-cup of wine.

The squires of a lord had each his respective duties: one was the squire of the chamber, or the chamberlain; and another, the carving squire; but the most honourable was he that was attached to the person of his lord: he was called the squire of the body, and was, indeed, for the time, the only military youth of his class. He accompanied his lord into the field of battle, carrying his shield and armour; while the page usually bore the helmet. He held the stirrup, and assisted the knight to arm. There was always a line of squires in the rear of a line of knights; the young cavaliers supplying their lords with weapons, assisting them to rise, when overthrown, and receiving their prisoners.

Military exercises were mingled with the anxieties of love. The candidate for chivalry practised every mode by which strength and activity could be given to the body. He learned to endure hunger and thirst, to disregard the seasons' changes, and, like the Roman youths in the Campus Martius, when covered with dust he plunged into the refreshing stream. He accustomed himself to wield the sword, to thrust the lance, to strike with the axe, and to wear armour. The most favourite exercise was that which was called the Quintain: being particularly calculated to practise the eye and hand, in giving a right direction to the lance. A half figure of a man, armed with sword and buckler, was placed upon a post, and turned on a pivot; so that, if the assailant, with his lance, hit him not on the middle of the breast, but on the extremities, he made the figure turn round, and strike him an ill aimed blow, much to the merriment of the spectators.

The ceremony of initiation into knighthood, was solemn. Severe fastings, and nights spent in a church or a chapel, in prayer; confession of sins; bathing, and putting on white robes, as emblems of the purity of manners, required by the laws of chivalry; were necessary preparations; and one of the last acts before inauguration, was the shaving of the head, to make its appearance resemble the ecclesiastical tonsure.

When the candidate for knighthood, had gone through these, and other formalities, he fell at the feet of the person from whom he expected that honour, and, on his knees, delivered to him his sword. An oath was then administered

to him,—“to serve his prince, defend the faith, protect the persons and reputations of virtuous ladies; and to rescue, at the hazard of his life, widows and orphans, and all unhappy persons groaning under injustice or oppression.” He was then accoutred, by the knights and ladies who assisted at the ceremony; and the king or some nobleman, gave him knighthood or dubbing, by three gentle strokes of a sword, on the shoulder, or with the palm of his hand, on the neck; saying, “In the name of God, St. Michael, and St. George, I make thee a knight!—be thou loyal, brave, and hardy.”

The characteristics of chivalry, were valour and humanity, courtesy, justice, and honour. War was carried on with less ferocity, when humanity, no less than courage, began to be deemed the ornament of knighthood.

Cavaliers sometimes took their title from the place where they had been knighted. A very distinguished honour was to be called the knight of the Mines; which was to be obtained by achieving feats of arms in the subterraneous process of a siege. The mines were the scenes of knightly valour: they were lighted by torches; trumpets and other instruments of war, resounded, and the general affair of the siege was suspended, while the knights tried their prowess; the singularity of the mode of combat, giving a zest to the encounters.

The lance was the chief offensive weapon of a knight. Its length was proportionate to the vigour and address of him who bore it; and its sharpened head was fashioned agreeably to his taste. To the top of the wooden part, was generally fixed an ensign. On this, was marked the cross, if the expedition of the soldier had for its object the Holy Land; or it bore some part of his heraldry; and in the latter case, when the lance was fixed in the ground, near the entrance of the owner's tent, it served to designate the bearer.

To transfix his antagonist with a lance, was the ordinary endeavour of a knight; but some cavaliers, of remarkable hardihood, preferred to come to the closest quarters, where the lance could not be used. The battle-axe and the sword, which they therefore often wielded, need no particular description. But the most favourite weapon was a ponderous steel or iron hammer, carrying death, either by the weight of its fall or the sharpness of its edge. This hammer, called a mallet, or maule, some cavaliers carried at their saddle

bow, till the happy moment for “breaking open skulls” arrived. A lance could not execute half the sanguinary purposes of Richard Cœur de Lion; and it was with a battle-axe, as often as with a sword, that he dashed into the ranks of the Saracens.*

The shield was held in equal esteem, in chivalric, as in classic times. To lose this part of his defensive harness—not to “return with it, or upon it,” as was enjoined by the Spartan mother, to her son—was considered the most signal disgrace that could happen to a knight. Some knights, as gentle as they were brave, adorned their shields with a portrait of their “lady-love,” or stamped upon it “impresses quaint,” with a device emblematical of their passion. Knights formed of sterner stuff, retained their heraldic insignia, and their mottoes breathed war and homicide; but gallant cavaliers showed the gentleness of their minds; and their impressed sentences were sometimes of plain meaning, but oftener dark to all, except to the knight himself, and the damsel by whose playful wit they had been invented.

Certainly, all knights were not religious, even in the sense in which religion was understood in chivalric times. One cavalier made it his principal boast, that he had burned a church, with twenty four monks, its inhabitants.

Of his moral virtues, perfect fidelity to a promise, was conspicuous; for his nobleness disdained any compromise with circumstances or convenience. However absurd the vow, still he was compelled to perform it, with the utmost

* This battle axe is thus amusingly described, in the metrical Romance of Richard Cœur de Lion:—

“ King Richard, I understand,
Or he went out of England,
Let him make an axe for nones,
To breake therewith the Sarasyn’s bones,
The head was wrought right well,
Therein was twenty pounds of steel,
And when he came into Cyprus land,
The axe he took in his hand.
All that he hit, he all to-frapped
The Griffons away fast rapped,
Natheless, many he cleared,
And their unthanks thereby lived,
And the prison when he came to,
With his axe he smote right thro,
Dores, barres, and iron chains,
And delivered his men out of pains.

degree of strictness. Sir Charles du Blois promised Sir Loyes of Spain, whatever gift he might require, for the service he had rendered him. "Then," said Sir Loyes, "I require you to cause the two knights that are in prison, in Favet, to be brought hither, and give them to me, to be dealt with at my pleasure; for they have injured me, and slain my nephew. I will strike off their heads, before the town, in sight of their companions."

An anecdote is recorded, which curiously marks the manners of the chivalric ages, with regard to courtesy. The wife and sister of a celebrated knight, were once living in a castle which was attacked and taken by a body of Norman and English troops. The success was great and important; but public indignation was excited against the invaders, because they had transgressed the license of war, and been guilty of the uncourteous action of surprising and disturbing ladies, while they were asleep.

To play the game of chess, to hear the minstrels' lays, and read romances, were the principal amusements of the knight, when the season and the weather did not permit hawking and hunting. A true knight was a chess-player; and the game was played in every country of chivalry; for, as the chivalric states of midland Europe obtained a knowledge of it from the Scandinavians, so the southern states acquired it from the Arabs. The fondness of our ancestors for the game of chess, appears by the frequent mention of the amusement in the ancient romances. Sometimes, a lover procured admittance to the place where his mistress was confined, by permitting the jailor to win from him a game of chess.

It is difficult to imagine the extravagant degree of estimation in which hawks were held, during the chivalric ages. They were considered as symbols of high estate; and, as such, were constantly carried about, by the nobility of both sexes. They were brought even to places of public worship; and, in the case of some individuals, this irreverent practice seems to have been recognised as a right. The treasurer of the church of Auxerre, enjoyed the distinction of assisting at divine service, on solemn days, with a falcon on his hand; and the lord of Lassai held the privilege of perching his upon the altar.

The maiden of gentle birth, was, like her brother, educated in the castle of some knight or baron, her father's

friend; and many of her duties were those of personal attendance. As the young candidate for chivalric honours, carved at table, handed the wines, and made the beds of his lord; so, his sister's care was to dress her lady, to contribute, by music and conversation, to her amusement, and to form a part of her retinue of state.

The generous feeling of cavaliers for ladies, was nobly requited. In the wars of the Guelphs and the Ghibbelines, the emperor Conrad, as an offended sovereign, had refused all terms of capitulation, to the garrison of Winnisberg; but, as a courteous knight, he permitted the women to depart, with such of their precious effects as they themselves could carry. The gates of the town were thrown open, and a long train of matrons, each bearing a husband, or a father, or a brother, on her shoulders, passed, in safety, through the applauding camp.

"All ladies," observes one of the historians of chivalry, "were not of the opinion of Amadis de Gaul, that their best weapons were sighs and tears." What they admired, they imitated; and a high spirited damsel would, in private, divest herself of her robe, gird around her a belt, and, drawing its sword from its scabbard, fight with the air, till she was wearied. The gallant youths of chivalry, called a lady of this martial temperament, "*le bel cavalier*." Two ladies decided some fierce disputes by the sword. Each summoned to her aid a band of cavaliers; and the stoutest lancers of Normandy felt no loss of dignity, in being commanded by a woman. The lady Eloisa and the lady Isabella, rode through their respective ranks, with the address of experienced leaders; and their contest, like that of nations, was terminated only by plundering and burning each others' states. In the crusades, parties of fair and noble women accompanied the chivalry of Europe, to the holy land. Sometimes, they bound up the wounds of the combatants who had fallen in battle with the Musselmén; sometimes, they wielded the flaming sword themselves; the second crusade, in particular, having been distinguished by a troop of ladies, harnessed in glittering armour, and mounted on fiery steeds. A lady often wore a sword, even in times of peace; and every great landed proprietress, sat girded with her sword, amongst the justices, at the sessions and assizes.

Safe conduct, through hostile lands, was allowed to those who wished to join in the tournament or joust. The silence

and solitude of the country, in those dark times, were pleasantly relieved by bands of jolly and lady-loving cavaliers, with trains of squires and pages, riding, to court, to the tune of a merry roundelay. It was particularly the custom of newly made knights, to attend a tournament, in order to establish their prowess, and show that they deserved their spurs.

The scene of combat was the lists; a large place, surrounded by ropes or railing. The lists were decorated with the splendid richness of feudal power. Besides the gorgeous display of heraldic insignia, near the champions' tents, the galleries, erected to contain the proud and joyous spectators, were covered with tapestry, representing chivalry, both in its warlike and amorous guise:—on one side, the knight, with his bright faulchion, smiting away hosts of foes; and on the other, kneeling at the feet of beauty.

The ladies were the supreme judges of tournaments; and, if any complaint were raised against a knight, they adjudged the cause, without appeal. Generally, however, they deputed their power to a knight; who, on account of this distinction was called the “Knight of Honour.” He bore, at the end of his lance, a ribbon, or some other sign of woman's favour; and, with this badge of authority, he waved the fiercest knights into order and obedience.

Each knight was followed by his squires, whose number was generally limited to three. They furnished their lord with arms, arranged his armour, and raised him from the ground, when dismounted by his foe. They also carried words of love, to re-animate the courage and strength of the exhausted cavalier; and a ribbon, drawn from a maiden's bosom, was often sent to her chosen knight, when, in the shock of spears, her first favour had been torn from the place where it had been fixed by her fair hand.

The tournament and joust survived chivalry itself, the image of which they had reflected and brightened. Changes in the military art—the use of the musket, for the lance—did not immediately affect manners; and the world long lung, with fondness, to those splendid and graceful shows, which had thrown light and elegance over the warriors and dames of old.

When society was thus emerging from barbarism, a copy of Justinian's Pandects was discovered, at Amalfi, in Italy (in the year 1130;) and though the age had not sufficient taste

to relish the beauty of the Roman classics, it immediately perceived the merit of a system of laws, in which all the points most interesting to mankind, were settled, with discernment, equity, and precision.

LOUIS VI.

1108—1137.

LOUIS VI., surnamed the Gross, because of his great corpulence, towards the end of his reign, was, at the death of the late king, his father, about twenty-nine years of age.

Similar to nearly every other reign that history presents, this also was disturbed, by rebellion and foreign wars. Louis and Henry I. of England having disputed about the fortress of Gisors, a defence upon the frontiers of Normandy and France, the former challenged the English monarch to decide the matter, by duel, on the bridge that separated the two camps: but Henry treated the challenge as a bravado, and trusted to the fate of war.

The peace which followed, after several indecisive battles, was of short continuance. The absence of Robert, son of William the Conqueror, with the crusaders, enabled his younger brother, Henry, to seize the crown of England, on the death of William Rufus; and the defeat of Robert, at the battle of Tenchebray, gave Henry an opportunity of imprisoning him, and keeping him incarcerated, during the remainder of his life. An apology was thus afforded the king of France, for another war. Ever seeking a pretext for disquieting the English monarch, with regard to his continental dominions, he encouraged the pretensions of Robert's son, William, surnamed Clito, who had applied to all the courts of Europe, still unable to procure any remedy for his own bad fortune, or the deliverance of his father.

Before the conquest of England, by the duke of Normandy, that kingdom had never come into hostile contact with France. But, soon after that event, the first wars between the French and English commenced; an inevitable consequence of the union of England and Normandy, under one sovereign; as thereby, the vassal became more powerful than his superior lord.

The armies of the two kings engaged on the plains of Brenneville. The battle was obstinate and bloody. At one time, Louis, at another, Henry seemed victorious. But,

the French army was, at last, dispersed; and Louis, being hurried along with those that fled, and thrown from his horse, was obliged to escape on foot.

1127. The king of England was at length freed from the pretensions of his nephew. As William was besieging Alost, he received a wound, in the hand, from a pike; of which, he, in a few days afterwards, died.

His patron, the king of France, about this time, narrowly escaped being killed. In an expedition against his rebellious vassals, he was wounded, in the thigh, by a stone, shot, out of a paterero, from the walls of the castle of Livri.

1137. Death, however, is equally certain, to the monarch and the subject. The prince, like the peasant, must make his mortal exit, after "he has strutted his hour upon the stage." The great heats, in this year, produced a serious effect upon the king's health, and he died, on the first of August, in the sixtieth year of his age, and thirtieth of his reign.

Louis was very generally regretted. His sincerity, his zeal for justice, his liberal views, with regard to civil government, merited that his subjects should honour his funeral with their tears.

He established the Commons, or Third Estate, by enfranchising the bondmen, and diminishing the exorbitant authority of the lords. He sent commissaries into the provinces, to redress the wrongs of such as had been oppressed by the dukes and counts, and every where encouraged appeals to the royal judges.

When death seemed to approach, he ordered his son to be called to him, and gave him the following excellent advice:—"By this sign," said he, (drawing the signet from his finger,) "I invest you with sovereign authority; but, remember, that it is nothing but a public employment, to which you are called, by Heaven; and, for the exercise of which, you must render an account, in the other world."

In the early times of the French monarchy, ecclesiastics and military men were the only people in the kingdom that were free. The other inhabitants of cities, towns, and villages, were slaves; though not in an equal degree. They were divided into two classes. The first, called *serfs*, were attached to the soil, and transferred, with the trees that grew on it, from one proprietor to another; being unable either to marry, or to change their residence or profession,

without the permission of their master. The whole produce of their labour, was his; except he chose to release them from this obligation, on condition of receiving a stipulated sum, at stated periods, as well for the serf himself, as for his wife and children. The second class, denominated *hommes de poete*, were not so entirely dependent upon their lord, who had no power over their lives or property. Their servitude consisted in the obligation of rendering him certain duties. But, neither of these descriptions of men, had any other judge, than the lord of the soil; nor any other law, than what he chose to enact. Hence, it was, that so many crimes remained unpunished; since the nobles, themselves, were, generally speaking, the perpetrators of the numerous assassinations, and other lawless proceedings, so frequent throughout the kingdom.—In order to remedy these abuses, and, at the same time, to create some power, that might counterbalance those potent vassals, Louis first adopted the plan of conferring new privileges upon the towns situated within his own domain. These privileges were called Charters of Community; by which, he enfranchised the inhabitants, abolished all marks of servitude, and formed them into corporations, or bodies politic, to be governed by a council and magistrates, of their own choice. The great barons, by degrees, began to imitate the example of their monarch. They had expended so immense sums, in their expedition to the Holy Land, that they eagerly embraced this new expedient for raising money, by the sale of those charters of liberty; and, in less than two centuries, servitude was abolished, in most of the towns of France.

The kingdom soon felt the advantages arising from this beneficial change. The towns increased in population; the arts, manufactures, and commerce, began to flourish; new villages were built; lands, hitherto uncultivated, were rendered fertile, and the emancipated peasants took farms on their own account, and laboured for themselves.

But, while emancipation was thus given to the body, chains were, by a very different description of individuals, forging for the mind. It was at this period, that a taste for sophistry was introduced into the schools; where it passed from philosophy to theology, and caused the discussion of a thousand perplexing questions, not less dangerous, than subtle. There was not a single master or professor, who taught any of the useful sciences, or the belles-lettres: all

who had pretension to wit, or boasted of their understanding, puzzled their brain with abstract speculations, and lost themselves in the labyrinth of metaphysics. The first who gave lessons, in this kind of new logic, was Roscelin, of Compeigne; whose pupil and successor was the celebrated Abelard.

LOUIS VII.

1137—1180.

Louis VII.; (frequently called the Younger, to distinguish him from his father,) after he had been a few years on the throne, became involved in one of those civil wars, rendered unavoidable by the feudal system; and, having, in an expedition into Champagne, made himself master of Vitri, he ordered it to be set on fire. Thirteen-hundred persons, who had taken refuge in the church, perished in the flames. This unjustifiable and inhuman act, made a deep impression upon the king's mind; and prepared the way for a second crusade; in which, he himself bore no inconsiderable part.

The power of the Christians of the East, was gradually declining, in those countries which they had conquered. One city had already been retaken, by the Turks; and Jerusalem itself was threatened. Europe was solicited for a new armament: and, as the French had poured forth the first inundation, they were now applied to, for a second.

1145. Pope Eugenius III., to whom the deputation from the East, had been sent, appointed Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, as the instigator of this pious warfare. He had long enjoyed the reputation of a saint; was heard as an oracle, and revered as a prophet. It is not, therefore, surprising, that he was able to persuade the king of France, that there was no other method of expiating his guilt, than by an expedition to the Holy Land. At Vezelai, in Burgundy, a scaffold was erected, in the market-place; on which, St. Bernard appeared, by the side of Louis. The saint spoke first: he was seconded by the king, after taking the cross; and the example was followed by all present; amongst whom, were many of the chief nobility.

The labours of this fanatical orator, were not confined to France. He preached the crusade in Germany, also; where, by the force of his impassioned eloquence, he prevailed upon the emperor Conrad III., and an infinite number of persons, of all ranks, to take the cross.

The Germans entered the field first; and were followed by the French. Of the two nations, there were reckoned one-hundred-and-forty-thousand men, in complete armour; and as many light-horse and infantry, as swelled this second emigration to at least three-hundred-thousand persons.

1147. This romantic expedition, was signally disastrous. The disadvantage of contending in a foreign country, again produced a most fatal result. The sultan of Iconium, drew the heavy German cavalry of Conrad, amongst the rocks, and cut his army to pieces. Nor was the king of France attended with better fortune. When his army was nearly all destroyed, being resolved to die, he continued to fight, at the head of some lords and gentlemen, who had collected around him, and had no hopes of preservation, except in the approaching night. Left almost alone, in the dark, he climbed a tree, loaded, as he was, with his heavy armour; and thence, to the top of a rock. Here, he was attacked, by some Mahometans, with arrows; whilst others ascended the tree, in order to surmount the rock. But his armour was proof against the arrows; and he made so good use of his sword, cutting off the heads or arms of all who approached him, that, at last, they retired, without knowing it was the king.

The conclusion of the expedition, was, that both Louis and the emperor returned to Europe, with the wreck of a great army; after achieving nothing further, than a mere visit to Jerusalem.

Thousands of ruined families, in vain exclaimed against St. Bernard, for his deluding prophecies. He excused himself, by the example of Moses; who, like him, he said, had promised to conduct the Israelites into a happy country, and yet saw the first generation perish in the desert.

The misfortunes, by which the king of France had been overwhelmed, in Asia, did not intimidate him, from entering into fresh wars, on his return to Europe. The formidable attitude of Henry II., of England, in being master not only of Normandy, but also of a larger part of France, than was subject to the immediate jurisdiction of the king, was not the sole cause of hostilities between the two monarchs. There was another, of a character more personal. The celebrated Thomas a Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, having, by his obstinate encroachments upon the civil authorities, in England, drawn upon him the severe displeasure of his

sovereign, was banished from the kingdom, took refuge in France, and was there received, in a more friendly and respectful manner, by the king, than Henry desired.

1179. The particulars of the murder of this haughty prelate, in his own cathedral, at Canterbury, are to be sought for, rather in the history of England, than of France. Though innocent of the crime of participating in that horrid act, yet Henry found it expedient to prostrate himself before Becket's shrine, and receive absolution from the ecclesiastics. His rival, the king of France, asked permission to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of this noted saint, to obtain intercession for the recovery, from a dangerous illness, of his son and heir. Louis (as a great English historian pleasantly remarks) probably thought himself entitled to the favour of that saint, on account of their ancient intimacy; and hoped, that Becket, whom he had protected while on earth, would not, now that he was so highly advanced in heaven, forget his old friend and benefactor.

The young prince was restored to health; and, as it was superstitiously supposed, through the intercession of Becket: but the king himself, soon after his return, was struck with an apoplexy, which deprived him of his judgment; and his son Philip assumed the administration, though only in his fifteenth year.

1180. The king soon left his son sole possessor of the throne. He died, in the following year, at Paris, in the sixtieth year of his age, and the forty-fourth of his reign; and was buried in the abbey of Barbeau, which he had founded, near Melun.

PHILIP II.

1180—1223.

Philip was married to Isabella, the daughter of Baldwin, count of Hainault; a princess descended from Ermengarde, the eldest daughter of the unfortunate Charles, duke of Lorraine, brother to Lothaire the second, and uncle to Louis V. Still revering the memory of the Carlovingian princes, the French derived inexpressible pleasure from this union of the royal families; this alliance of the blood of Charlemagne, with the blood of Capet.

The first act of this young monarch, though it ill accords with the high reputation, to which he seems entitled, for his general good conduct, was yet in conformity with

the illiberal spirit of the age. In the first year of his reign, he banished the Jews out of all his dominions, confiscated their estates, and discharged all who owed them money, from their debts; to indemnify them for the excessive usuries, practised upon them, by that people.

The period is not very remote, when no interest, whatever, was allowed, by law, to be charged for the loan of money: at length, a certain rate was fixed, according to the fancy of legislators, at which it might legally be lent; and this rate has been gradually lessening, in a ratio, compounded of the cotemporary demands of commerce, and the supply of the precious metals. But, the time is fast approaching, when it will be confessed, by the most enlightened governments, that all interference to regulate the hire of money, is as irrational and impolitic, as to fix the price of land, or labour; or to intermeddle with the price of bread. Money is more abundant, at some times, than at others: it is of more value to one species of traders, than to another; and it is not the legislator, but existing circumstances, over which he can have no control, that will, from time to time, reduce to a very low, or advance to a very high degree, the price that can be afforded for the use of money.

The Jews were not the only religious sect, against whom the sword of persecution was then turned. The Albigenses, also, a kind of sectaries, in the south of France, headed by the count of Toulouse, became obnoxious to the pope, because they neglected the rites of the church, and opposed the power and influence of the clergy; and a crusade was published against them, under the generalship of Simon de Montfort. Infected by the metaphysics of Aristotle, which had been lately transmitted from Constantinople, Aimeric de Chartres, an enthusiastic of strong sense, but of stronger passions, became the founder of a new sect, whose principal tenets consisted in the rejection of a Heaven and a Hell; in maintaining that the only paradise that could be known by man, resulted from the effects of doing good; and his only punishment, from ignorance and crime. They were distinguished by the appellation of *The Albigenses*, either from the council of *Albi*, where their errors were anathematized, or because the inhabitants of that town were more particularly infected with their tenets. Pope Innocent sent two monks, to bring the Albigenses to trial; which was the first foundation of that detestable establishment, the Inquisition

But a detail of the wars, against the nobles who espoused the heresy of the Albigenses, or of the many rebellions of the king's vassals against the royal authority, cannot be admitted into the present work.

The Christians, in the Holy Land, were now in a deplorable condition. Civil wars were kindled amongst themselves; and the famous Saladin, emperor of the Saracens, had conquered the dominions which they had possessed, in that country. Louis VII. had assumed the cross, to atone for his crime at Vitri: Philip now joined in a crusade, to show his gratitude for the birth of a son and heir.

Another prince, of much higher renown, in the field of arms, was his companion in the adventure. This was Richard the First, of England, surnamed *Cœur de Lion*, now sovereign of that kingdom, by the recent death of his father, Henry II.

1190. The armies of the two monarchs having joined, at Vezeley, they marched together, to Lyons. Philip embarked at Genoa, Richard at Marseilles. The rendezvous was appointed at Messina; and, as the season was far advanced, the two armies wintered in Sicily: but, during their stay, there were serious misunderstandings between the two kings; and they had nearly come to blows. Though professed friends, they were, by the situation and extent of their dominions, rivals in power; by their age and inclinations, competitors for glory. Their disputes were, however, settled: they sailed, in the ensuing spring, and arrived safely in the port of Acre.

This place, (called Ptolemais, by the Greeks) was then besieged, by Guy of Lusignan, king of Jerusalem; and had been defended, for three years, by the troops of Saladin.

Some time was lost, before the two kings could agree to act in concert. At length, it was determined, that their attacks should be alternate. While one made an assault, the other was to guard the lines, against Saladin; who, with a powerful army, lay within shot of their camp. The French made the first attempt, and were repulsed. But, they at length undermined a tower; the fall of which made so wide an opening, that several battalions might enter abreast; and a second mine having been sprung, and the place being exposed to the attack both of the English and the French, the emirs made a signal of capitulation.

Thus, was this famous siege, which had so long engaged

the attention of all Europe, brought to the desired close; but, with the loss of three-hundred-thousand men, besides persons of superior rank.

Amongst the nobles who fell on this memorable occasion, on the part of the French, was Ralph de Coucy; who, being mortally wounded, retired to his tent, wrote a farewell letter to a married lady, named Du Fayel, of whom he was deeply enamoured, and, after ordering his trusty esquire to carry his heart to the object of his love, in a few minutes expired. Faithful to the commands of his deceased lord, the gentleman repaired to the castle, near Acre, where the lady resided; at the gates of which he met the husband, whose jealousy leading him to search the messenger, he found the fatal present. Enraged at his wife, he gave the heart of her lover to his cook, had it placed upon the table before her, and, when she had feasted on it, for some time, the savage disclosed to her the deadly secret. She was seized with inexpressible horror. She vowed, that, after a meal thus precious, no other nourishment should ever enter her lips—she kept her word, and, in a few days afterwards, expired.

After this arduous and important conquest, both the Christians and the Mahometans were full of expectation, as to the future movements of the crusading troops. Every thing depended upon the two kings. But they were not held very long in suspense. Ten days after the reduction of Acre, the king of France declared his intention of returning home. The distemper, with which he had been seized, had left him extremely weak; and was attended with symptoms, which induced a suspicion of his being poisoned.

The king of England remained only a year longer, in Palestine; during which time, he gained fresh laurels, by the overthrow of the Saracens, especially at Ascalon; where he defeated Saladin, and slew forty-thousand of his men. As every Christian leader, except Richard himself, expressed a desire of speedily returning home, there appeared an absolute necessity, of abandoning, for the present, all hopes of further conquest. Richard therefore concluded a truce with Saladin. It was to continue three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours; a magical number, suggested by a superstition (as an elegant historian observes) well suited to the object of the war.

Soon after the conclusion of this truce, Saladin died, at Damascus. Before he expired, he ordered his winding-sheet to be carried, as a standard, through every street of the city; while a crier went before it, and proclaimed, with a loud voice, "This is all that remains to the mighty Saladin, the conqueror of the East."

The jealousy, felt by Richard, of his brother John and the king of France, lest they would, in his absence, make an attack upon his dominions, would, of itself, have been a sufficient cause, to hasten his return.

His journey homeward was full of peril. As he passed, in the disguise of a pilgrim, through the dominions of Leopold of Austria, whom he had affronted at the siege of Acre, he was taken, by that duke, and transferred to the custody of the emperor Henry VI. This prince, being Philip's friend, gave him notice of Richard's detention, as an event which could not be otherwise than pleasing. The emperor was not wrong in his conjecture. Philip resolved to profit by the incident. He entered into a treaty, with John, the king of England's brother: who did homage to the king of France, for all the continental dominions of the English crown; and, according to some historians, for England itself. John went immediately into the latter country; and, having spread a report, that Richard had died in prison, he demanded to be recognised as king: but, all the barons remained faithful to the absent monarch; and he could only make himself master of two castles.

The vindictive enemies of Richard, had carefully concealed, not only the place of his confinement, but even the circumstances of his captivity; and both might have remained unknown, but for the grateful attachment of a Provençal bard, or minstrel, named Blondel; who had shared that prince's friendship, and experienced his bounty. Having travelled over the European continent, to learn the history of his beloved patron, who was a poet, as well as a hero, Blondel gained intelligence of a certain castle, in Germany, where a prisoner of distinction was confined, and guarded with unusual care. The minstrel repaired to the place. But its gates were shut against him; and he could obtain no information, as to the name or quality of the person whom it secured. In this extremity, he thought of an expedient, for making the desired discovery. He chaunted, with a loud voice, some verses of a song, which had been

composed partly by himself, and partly by Richard; and, to his unspeakable joy, on making a pause, he heard it re-echoed and continued, by the royal captive. To this discovery, Richard is said to have eventually owed his release. The bard hastened with the intelligence to England; the pope himself used his endeavours, to obtain Richard's deliverance; a ransom was agreed on; and this gallant warrior was set at liberty, after a painful imprisonment, of more than eighteen months.

We cannot suppose, that Richard would easily forgive the king of France, for a captivity, the length of which, at least, was occasioned by his contrivance. As soon as Philip knew that Richard had concluded his treaty with the emperor, he wrote to his confederate, John, in these words: "Take care of yourself; the Devil is let loose:" which caused the treacherous brother immediately to leave England, and come to France.

Hostilities soon commenced, between the two rival kings. Many places were taken, by both parties, and again lost. A skirmish occurred, which is memorable, for the intrepidity shown by Philip. He had come out of Manté, to proceed to Gisors, accompanied by only two-hundred horse. Near the latter place, he met the king of England, followed by several thousand troops. He was advised to return; but the king, looking with indignation on the officer who had made the proposal,—“I,” said he, “return, and fly from the king of England!—Whoever has a mind, let him follow me; and, with me, either conquer, or gloriously die.”—Then, charging furiously upon the enemy's squadrons, he broke through them; and, throwing down all that opposed him, he reached Gisors, by one of the happiest strokes of presumption, that were ever practised.

In the following year, the king was beaten, by Richard, in two engagements; one, near Vernon, the other between Manté and Gisors. At the latter place, he had nearly been killed. When on the bridge, followed by the runaway crowd, whom the English closely pursued, it broke down, the king fell into the river, and would have been drowned, as many others were, had he not been immediately assisted.

The bishop of Beauvais, a martial prelate, and cousin-german to the king, having been taken in battle, Richard, who hated him for having been the means of increasing the

rigour of his confinement, in Germany, threw him into prison, and loaded him with irons: and, when the pope demanded his liberty, and claimed him as his son, the English monarch sent to his holiness the coat of mail, which the bishop had worn in battle, all besmeared with blood; accompanied by the words employed by the sons of Jacob, to their father—"This, have we found; know whether it be thy son's coat, or not!"

1199. Philip was soon afterwards freed from his formidable opponent. When Richard was besieging the castle of Chalus, near Limoges, an archer, belonging to the garrison, called Bertrand of Gourdon, let fly an arrow at him, that struck him in the arm, and gave him a wound; which, through the ignorance of his surgeon, became mortal. Richard, however, ordered the castle to be stormed, and it was quickly taken. He then directed that all the garrison should be hanged, except the person by whom he had been wounded; reserving him, as some historians think, for a punishment more severe.

A few days afterwards, his recovery being despaired of, he sent for Gourdon, and thus addressed him: "Wretch, what have I done to thee, to make thee kill me?"—"What have you done to me!" calmly replied Gourdon. "I'll tell you:—you have killed my father and my two brothers, with your own hands; and you intended to hang myself. I am now in your power: be revenged of me, as you please. I am ready to suffer the sharpest torments, provided I may have the pleasure of hearing that you die by my hands; you that have done so much mischief in the world."

The conduct of the dying monarch was heroic. He commanded that Gourdon's chains should be taken off, and said only these few words: "Friend, I forgive you." He then ordered him to be set at liberty, and gave him a sum of money. But the generous intentions of the prince, were defeated. He was seized, by one Marcade, a chief of the Brabancons, (a sort of banditti, at that time employed, in their armies, by the continental sovereigns,) who had him flayed alive, and hanged, as soon as the king expired.

As Richard left no issue, he was succeeded by his brother John.

1202. The succession was disputed by Arthur, duke of Brittany, son of John's elder brother, Geoffrey; and the barons of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, declared in fa-

vous of this young prince. He was aided also by the king of France; whose enmity to the English, was uniformly inveterate, by whatever monarch they were governed; and every thing promised success, when Arthur was unfortunately taken prisoner, by his uncle John, and inhumanly murdered.

From that moment, John was detested by his subjects, both in England and on the continent. Philip, as his superior lord, (in relation to his continental dominions) summoned him to be tried before himself and his peers; and, on his non-appearance, he was declared guilty of murder and parricide, and all his foreign domains were declared forfeited to the crown of France.

1204. The execution of this sentence, was not difficult. Philip not only gained possession of Normandy, but successively reduced Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and a part of Poictou.

Thus, was Normandy, the richest and most fertile province in all the French dominions, reunited to the crown of France, about three centuries after the first cession of it, by Charles the Simple. During that time, it had been governed by sixteen dukes. "Rollo, the Dane," says Megeray, "who, from a barbarian, became a Christian and a virtuous man, was the first; and John, who, from a Christian, became more wicked than either an infidel or barbarian, was the last."

But the most powerful enemy of the degraded monarch, was the pope. By him, he was excommunicated; not for his many crimes, but for his interference in the church-government of England.

As the last sentence could not be executed, without an armed force, the pontiff fixed upon the French king, into whose hands he could most safely intrust so terrible a weapon: and he offered to that monarch, besides the remission of all his sins, the kingdom of England, as the reward of his labour.

Although he thereby ratified an authority, which might one day hurl him from his throne, Philip accepted the liberal offer of the pope. A decisive action was soon expected, between the two kings; but the pope artfully tricked them both, by inducing the king of England to surrender to him his crown. Philip was informed, that he must relinquish all thoughts of attacking England, as it was then a fief of the church of Rome. He was enraged at this intelligence.

He swore that he would not be duped, by such hypocritical pretences; nor would he have desisted from his enterprise, but for more weighty reasons. His fleet was nearly destroyed, by the English navy; and the emperor Otho II. had entered into an alliance with his uncle, the king of England, and the count of Flanders, in order to oppose the designs of France, now become formidable to the rest of Europe.

1214. Philip, however, advanced, undismayed, to meet his enemies, with an army of forty-thousand men. The force of Otho, consisting chiefly of English and German troops, doubled that of Philip. The two armies met near the village of Bouvines, between Lisle and Tournay, where the allies were totally routed, and thirty-thousand Germans are said to have been slain.

In this battle, the king's life was seriously endangered. A German battalion broke through his troop, and surrounded him. He defended himself, for a long time, and killed several of the enemy, with his own hand. The royal standard-bearer, raising himself upon his stirrups, waved it up and down, without ceasing, as a signal of the king's danger, who was now reduced to the last extremity. The assailants attacked scarcely any person, except Philip. They aimed their blows at him, on all sides; which, his management, his strength, and the goodness of his armour, happily warded off; until a German soldier, with one of those short javelins having a hook on each side of the point, struck at his throat. A kind of collar, worn by the king underneath, broke the force of the blow, and prevented a wound: but the hook's being entangled, between the cuirass and that part of the helmet which goes under the chin, the soldier drew with all his might, pulled the king off his horse, and laid him upon the ground.

The king immediately arose, but he could not extricate himself from the soldier. The emperor, who was near the place, galloped thither, in haste, to run him through; and the king had certainly been killed, if, at the moment of his fall, some lords and gentlemen had not made a way with their swords, through every thing that opposed them, and opened for him a passage. The soldier was either killed or driven away; and a fresh horse being given to the king, he was enabled to escape.

1216. Two years afterwards, king John of England died, at the castle of Newark, in the forty-ninth year of

his age, after a most disgraceful reign of eighteen years; being succeeded by his eldest son, Henry III., then only nine years old.

1223. In the month of July, of this year, Philip was seized with a quartan ague; of which he died, at Manté, when holding an assembly of the barons and prelates of the kingdom, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and forty-fourth of his reign.

Philip (surnamed Augustus, by some historians,) is allowed to have been the ablest prince, that had wielded the sceptre of France, since the reign of Charlemagne. But, we must not be so far dazzled by the splendour of his conquests, as to be blind to his moral defects. Though his mind was capacious and enterprising, his bad qualities were many, and his virtues few.

Before the time of Philip, the kings of France had been less powerful than some of their subjects; to so narrow a compass, were the royal demesnes reduced. But the regal power has always since been increased, in proportion to the decay of the feudal barons; who were oppressors of the people, and disturbers of the public peace.

Philip enlarged the boundaries of the capital, adorned it with several churches, erected in a style of Gothic magnificence; particularly the cathedral of Notre Dame, which he rebuilt; was a patron of the polite arts, and bountiful to the University of Paris, the students of which, in his reign, equalled, in number, all the rest of the inhabitants of the city; and caused several of its streets, for the first time, to be paved.

The Provençal poets were justly celebrated, at this period, in most of the countries of Europe. They were called also *Troubadours*, or *Finders*, from the fertility of their invention. They were invited to the courts of the greatest princes; where they were respected equally by the brave and the fair, as they celebrated the achievements of the one, and the charms of the other. They were named Provençal poets, because they inhabited chiefly the southern provinces of France, comprehended under the name of Provence; and, because the language of this district, at that time the purest dialect of the French language, was common to them all. The troubadours imparted to it new charms, and more extended fame. Dispersed through most of the courts of Europe, they created a relish for their compositions, and

gave a celebrity to their language, almost as great as the best modern productions have given to our own. Italy, Spain, England, and even Germany, listened to these Amphions; admired, and attempted to imitate them; and thus promoted the reformation and refinement of the language of these several countries.

Nothing was more honourable to the troubadours, than to have the Italians for their disciples; who not only equalled, but surpassed their masters. At the end of the thirteenth century, Danté raised the Italian language to perfection; and, from that time, it took the lead of the Provençal. Petrarch then appeared, love inspired his muse, and he poured forth, in the very country of the troubadours, numbers so eloquent and melodious, that their language, their poetry, and their name, almost entirely disappeared.

The compositions of the troubadours, may be divided into the gallant, the historical, the didactic, and the satirical. The last are the most valuable, as they explain the manners, and corrected the vices of the times. The didactic pieces are few, but curious: some of them comprehend the maxims of universal morality; others, instructions relative to the different conditions of society, to the candidates in chivalry, to the ladies, the poets, and the jongleurs.

The first troubadour, on record, was William, count of Poitou; who flourished about the beginning of the eleventh century. He united figure, ability, and courage, to the advantages of birth and fortune; but he degraded them all, by the extreme licentiousness of his manners. Indeed, the language of nearly all the bards of the same school, betrays an impurity of real or affected feeling, wholly dissonant from the chastened sentiments and manners of the present age.

Geoffry Rudel was prince of Blaye, a town near Bourdeaux. This troubadour was distinguished by a passion, most singularly romantic.—Tripoli, in Palestine, had been taken by the Christians, when the fame of the Countess of Tripoli warmed the imagination of Rudel. From the representation given of her beauty and her virtue, by the pilgrims who returned from the east, he was transported by the most ardent desire of beholding her; and therefore took the cross, and embarked. But, just as he was about to land, at Tripoli, he fell down, to all appearance, dead; and was laid in the first house they reached, by the companions of his voyage. They ran to inform the Countess, of an event

so calculated to excite her compassion. The affection of Geoffrey, the motive and the circumstances of his voyage, and his unhappy destiny, just as he touched the port, penetrated the soul of one so full of sensibility, who, unknown to herself, had lighted up, at so great a distance, so ardent and wonderful a flame. She came out, immediately, to behold this victim of romantic love. Geoffrey yet breathed. She embraces him: he fixes his eyes on her, and then, lifting them up to heaven, with joy, expires in her arms!

The Countess had him magnificently buried, amongst the Knights-templars, at Tripoli; and, the same day, whether from grief or piety, devoted herself to the cloister.

Peter d'Auvergne was the son of a citizen, in the diocese of Clermont. A talent for poetry, joined to a fine figure, an amiable character, and a cultivated mind, procured him much success: many high barons, and noble ladies, treated him with favour; and he passed for the best writer amongst the troubadours, till the appearance of Gerald Borneil. D'Auvergne was so well received, by the ladies, that, after reciting his works to them, he was rewarded with a kiss, from those who pleased him the most.

Arnaud Daniel was born, in the twelfth century, in the castle of Ribeyrac, in Perigord, of poor, but noble parents. His taste was not for study, but he was passionately fond of rhyming. Danté says, that Arnaud excelled in singing the praise of love; and that his tender verse, and his romantic prose, surpassed every thing that had appeared before, of the same kind. Petrarch speaks of him as the most celebrated of all the Provençal poets: he even imitated, and borrowed a verse from one of his sonnets; the only Provençal to whom he has done that honour.

Most of his pieces are sonnets, addressed probably to the wife of William de Bouville, whom he admired. "The return of spring," he says, in one of these, "invites my song, and the enamel of the meadows animates it, with all the gay and beautiful variety of the flowers: but the flowers that I gather, shall have love for their fruit, as they have joy for their grain; and their perfume shall surpass that divine odour, which the month of May spreads over the meadows! I love the most beautiful woman in the world! I have frequented many courts; the pleasure I receive from gay tents, refreshing alcoves, and magnificent balconies, where the ladies sit to assist at the tournaments, bears no

proportion to my joy in beholding her. I have masses said, and lamps and tapers burned, to render her propitious; for she is, next to God, the object of my worship. My love is shut up within my heart; and she who inspires it, knows it not. Alas! how should she? When at a distance, I have a hundred things to say; when I approach her, I know not where to begin. I sigh in vain! I pursue her with the swiftness of a hare; yet my approach is like the slow and heavy steps of an ox."

Arnaud composed the airs for his songs; for which reason, he has been included amongst the *jongleurs*; whose profession it was to sing the pieces of the troubadours: but the *jongleurs* were sometimes also poets, as is evinced from the following curious anecdote:—

In a voyage, made by Arnaud, into England, he met, at the court of the king, a jongleur, who challenged him to try his skill with him, in the composition of some verses. "You pique yourself," said his rival, "on excelling in difficult rhymes:—let us see which of us can perform the best."—The challenge was accepted, the wager laid, and the two bards shut themselves up, in separate chambers. The king had given them ten days, for the composition, and five to learn their pieces; after which they were to be sung or recited in his presence.—On the third day, the jongleur announces that he is prepared. Arnaud affects to be diverted at this; saying, that, for his part, he has not given himself the trouble to set about the work. He had, however, laboured, but could not compose a line.

One evening, in despair at this unexpected failure, he heard the jongleur repeating, with a loud voice, in his chamber: the same thing happened on the following days; he listened attentively, and at last made himself master, both of the air and the words.—On the day appointed, they appeared before the king. Arnaud desires to sing the first. What was the astonishment of the jongleur! "It is *my* song," he cried out, interrupting the poet. "That cannot be," said the king.—The jongleur, however, insists upon it, and conjures the king to question Arnaud; assuring him, that he will not have the impudence to deny the fact. The troubadour was charged with the imposture, and confessed the fraud. This adventure amused the king; who, after having restored to each the money which he had staked, loaded them both with presents; but exacted from Arnaud a song.

Savary was a rich baron of Porton, lord of Mauleon, and of several other fiefs. He was a brave and gallant knight; renowned for poetry, for his skill in tournaments, and for his taste and elegance at all public diversions. A visit paid by this lord, to Madame Guillemette de Benevias, in company with two other lords, was the foundation of a dialogue on three different proofs of love, and on which of them deserved the preference.

Each of these lords had besought the love of Madame Guillemette. Being seated, one at her right hand, the other at her left, and the third before her; she eyed the one with tenderness, pressed the hand of the other, and touched the foot of Savary; giving him, at the same time, a kind and gracious smile. Savary went to his two friends, Gancelm Fardit, and Hugues de Bacalaria, and desired they would resolve him, to which of the three the lady had shown the most affection.—“I think,” replied Gancelm, “to him who received the tender look: that always arises from the soul. The pressure of the hand is a courtesy which belongs to all those who are politely received; and to touch the foot, may arise from accident, and is no proof of love.”—“In my opinion,” said Hugues, “the look is of no signification; for kind looks are addressed to all, as well as to those whom they foolishly intrap. Nor do I attach any importance to touching the foot: but, when a white hand, without glove, presses tenderly its friend, this is a certain proof of the love that proceeds from the heart.”—“I rejoice,” exclaimed Savary, “that you have left me the best proof of love. To touch the foot, is a favour of the highest kind, because hidden from the penetration of others; and, being accompanied with a gracious smile, it is assuredly a proof of a frank and sincere affection. I am astonished, that Gancelm prefers the look; he who has the reputation of being so skilful in the art of love.”—“You do ill,” rejoined Gancelm, “to slight the tenderness of looks. The eyes are the messengers of the soul; they announce to those beloved, what a fond timidity would conceal from others: they are the depositories of the whole treasures of love, and will be understood, by hearts united in affection.”

These gallant amusements were the serious occupations of heroes and poets, in that age. In another fragment of Savary, he thus singularly expresses himself, to his mistress:—

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“Lady, you have conquered all the world. It is the height of my ambition, to conquer you. I have assembled Basques and Brabançons; and thanks to my care, we are five-hundred in number, who will punctually execute your orders. Explain your wishes; give us your commands. Our coursers are ready bridled: we will mount them instantly, in your cause.”

Folquet de Lunel is known chiefly by his satire on persons in the various conditions of life. “No longer,” says this troubadour, “do we behold emperors, kings, priests, dukes, counts, or barons, serving God! The recovery of the holy sepulchre, is now wholly neglected, and the Turks remain the peaceable possessors of Jerusalem!—By excommunications, priests gain the summit of their wishes. The emperor exercises injustice against the kings; the kings against the counts; the counts despoil the barons; the barons seize the possessions of their vassals, and pillage their peasants. The farmers and the shepherds, in their turns, commit frauds and injustice, and pay not the daily wages of their labourers. Physicians take upon themselves a profession, of which they are ignorant; they kill, while they pretend to cure, and yet they oblige men to pay them for their slaughter. Merchants and artists are thieves and liars. Jongleurs run about the world, to spread abroad their false histories. Innkeepers address you with civility, and make haste to serve you; the hostess is full of complaisance; the servants are attentive to your minutest orders; you agree that they shall partake of your provision; you furnish them with geese, partridge, excellent meats, white bread, and unmixed wine. In return, they sell you bad hay, and rotten corn, and take care to give you only half measure. Besides this, their mangers are pierced through with holes, and what is put in to them, for your horses, runs through to their pigs, who are enjoying a comfortable meal, at your expense, while you are sleeping in hard beds, and dirty sheets; and after all this, you are overwhelmed with injuries, if you do not pay a double price for the things set down to your account.

“Ye heretics; ye Vaudois; ye usurers; ye unfaithful depositories; ye infidel blasphemers; ye defrauding watermen and toll-gatherers, who restore not to your masters, what you have received for them; ye bailiffs, who unjustly seize the little all of the poor; ye unworthy borrowers, who pay

not again, but live on the property of others;—against you all, do I lift up my voice: fear the pains of hell; and think of the joys of paradise.”

William de la Jour was born in the castle of la Jour, in Perigord. Love turned his head, and the account given of him seems to be that of a madman. The object of his passion, was a barber's wife, at Milan. She was young and handsome: he carried her off, and brought her to Côme. Soon after this, she died; which affected him with so violent grief, that it deprived him of his reason. He was persuaded that she was not dead; for ten days, he remained fixed to her tomb. He opened it every night; he drew her out; he looked earnestly at her; he embraced, he kissed her! He conjured her to tell him, whether she was dead or alive; to return with him, if she lived; or, in case she were dead, to declare to him what she suffered in purgatory; for he would then bestow so many alms, and have so many masses said for her soul, that he would purchase her deliverance.

Informed of his madness, the inhabitants of Côme expelled him from their town, and from their country. He wandered from place to place, seeking, every where, for astrologers, to know from them whether his mistress could be restored to life. One of them made a sport of his wretched condition, and assured him that she would infallibly rise again, if he recited, each day, for a year, the whole psalter, with five-hundred paters and aves, and gave alms to seven poor people; but that he must do all this, each day, before he either eat or drank. The miserable man was in ecstasies, at this discovery, and punctually executed the prescribed conditions; but, finding himself no nearer his wishes at the end of the year, than at the beginning, he died, in despair.

Peter Vidal might justly be called the Don Quixotte of the troubadours. He was the son of a tanner, at Toulouse. Born with a poetic talent, and a melodious voice, he soared above his situation, and engaged in that career of genius, which, in this age, was so advantageous. His love of the fair sex was his principal inducement to this course of life. He admired every beautiful woman, and with a presumption not uncommon, he believed himself to be equally admired by her. His behaviour to the greatest lords, was full of extravagance, and led them to consider him an agreeable fool, formed for the amusement of their courts. In the first part of his life, he received a terrible lesson, from a knight of Saint Gilles;

of whose wife, Vidal having spoken lightly, the knight revenged himself, by slitting the poet's tongue. But a nobleman feeling compassion for him, had the garrulous minstrel cured. Some time afterwards, he followed Richard I. king of England, into Palestine; where his bravadoes were those of a madman. "My enemies," says he, "tremble at my name, the earth shakes at my steps, and all that oppose me, I bruise and cut to pieces."

While Vidal was thus boasting of his prowess, a singular trick was played upon him, in Cyprus. His companions induced him to marry a young Greek, pretending that she was niece to the emperor of the east, and that to her the empire would be transferred. In this design on his vanity, they completely succeeded. They beheld him usurp the title of emperor, give that of empress to his wife, and invest himself with the insignia of imperial rank. But being wearied with acting a part, which he at length discovered to be fictitious, he returned to his native country, and engaged in another adventure, in which he appeared completely mad.

Smitten with a lady of Carcassone, called Louve de Penantier, he caused himself to be called Loup, or Wolf, in her honour; and engaged himself to submit to all the perils of being hunted in a wolf's skin, for her sake. In this disguise, the shepherds, with their mastiffs and greyhounds, drove him into the mountains; and, so cruelly was he mangled—for he would not suffer the dogs to be taken off, till they had almost killed him—that they carried him home, as dead, to his mistress. The lady and her husband attended to his cure, but they ridiculed his lamentable folly. Nor were these all his extravagances. On the death of his lord, Raymond count of Toulouse, he exhibited unparalleled proofs of his affection. He dressed himself in the deepest mourning, cut off the ears and tails of his horses, and his own hair, suffered his beard and his nails to grow to an immoderate length, and required the same marks of distress from all his servants.

The remainder of Vidal's career, displayed a similar tissue of romantic madness. In the last years of his life, he was more excited, than ever, with a desire of possessing the empire of the east; he made a second voyage for that purpose, and died, in the year 1229, two years after his return.

The Monk of Montaudon was born of a noble family of Auvergne, in the castle of Vie. Weary of the cloister, he obtained permission, from his superior, to repair to the court of the king of Arragon, to receive the commands of that prince. This was, in fact, being allowed to become a troubadour. From the court of Arragon, he travelled into Spain; where he continued several years, and obtained many honours and rewards. His gallant poems are only repetitions of the fervour and distinctions of love; but, in some other pieces, he paints his own character and feelings, and those of others, with ingenuity and freedom.

“I love,” says he, “a court filled with persons of worth; a man who is ashamed of and repents of his sins; joy, good cheer, and handsome presents. I love fine fat salmon, at noon; an amiable mistress by the side of a purling stream; and a dear friend every where. I hate small gifts; a poor and proud knight; young people who talk much and loud; and the society of low people and uncourteous knights. I hate a lord who wears arms to no purpose; a monk and a priest with great beards; and a husband who doats on his wife. I hate too much water, and too little wine; and the priest who perjures and lies. I hate those who speak ill of dice, and who will not engage in play; and a damsel who makes a parade of her handsome foot. I hate a large table, and a scanty cloth, a man who marries his maid, and a woman who espouses her valet. But, above all, do I hate a baron who rides his horses to death; and a friend who fails in the time of need.”

A further idea may be formed of the manners of the age, from a ridiculous and impious ceremony, which had been hitherto tolerated, not only in the church of Paris, but in several other cathedrals of the kingdom. In the capital, it was called “The Fools’ Festival”—in other places, “The Festival of the Innocents.” The priests and clerks assembled, elected a pope and a bishop, whom they conducted, in great pomp, to the church; where they appeared arrayed in different whimsical dresses, representing women, animals, or buffoons; and dancing, and singing obscene songs. They converted the altar into a sideboard; where, during the celebration of mass, they eat and drank, played at dice, burned their old sandals, instead of incense, and ran and jumped about, exhibiting a variety of indecent postures.

LOUIS VIII.,

SURNAMED THE LION.

1223—1226.

LOUIS VIII., who ascended the throne in the thirty-seventh year of his age, distinguished himself more during the reign of his father, than in his own. The valour and abilities, shown by him, in numerous engagements in England, whither he had been sent, to aid the barons against king John, afforded strong evidence of his possessing the qualities of a great prince. But his reign extended little beyond three years; and its history is only a repetition of battles and sieges, in defence of Normandy, and the other continental territories wrested from the crown of England by his father; and of wars carried on against the Albigenses.

It was at the commencement of this reign, that pope Honorius III. confirmed the celebrated order of the Minors, the first mendicants; distinguished by the appellation of *Cordeliers*, from the cord which they wore round their waist.

LOUIS IX.,

COMMONLY CALLED SAINT LOUIS.

1226—1270.

THE late king was succeeded by his son, Louis IX., commonly called St. Louis; now only in his thirteenth year.

During his minority, various disorders arose, in France, occasioned chiefly by the ambition of the powerful vassals of the crown: but all these were happily composed, by the prudence and abilities of the queen-mother, Blanche of Castile.

1229. By the exhortations of the pope, the regent was induced to send a body of troops into Languedoc, against the Albigenses. The war was then renewed, with additional vigour; and conducted, by the king's general, Beaujeu, in a manner worthy of the cause in which he had embarked. Every morning, at the dawn of day, the troops attended mass, and prayed most devoutly: they then par-

took of a slight repast, and three separate detachments were sent, to scour the country. The first were armed with pick-axes, for the purpose of demolishing the houses; the second, with spades, for digging up the vines; and the third, with scythes, for mowing down the green corn, and every thing else that they met with in the fields; a system of destruction, regularly pursued in the environs of Toulouse. for three months.

The count of Toulouse was at length compelled to listen to overtures of peace. The terms imposed upon him were oppressive: but, abandoned by his subjects, he was obliged to submit; and to purchase an exemption from ecclesiastical tyranny and persecution, by the payment of considerable sums of money, to monasteries and churches, and the cession of his hereditary dominions, to the king of France.— Thus, terminated the crusade against the Albigenes, after a cruel and sanguinary war of twenty years.

Every layman was, by a recent edict, forbidden to keep either the Bible or Testament in his house; and was permitted to have only the Psalter, the Breviary, or the Book of Prayers, in Latin, but not in the vulgar tongue.

No sooner had Louis reached the years of manhood, than he was universally acknowledged to be the greatest prince in Europe: but his character is perhaps the most singular to be found in history. To the abject superstition of a monk, he united not only all the courage and magnanimity of a hero, but the justice and integrity of a sincere patriot; and, when religion was not concerned, the mildness and humanity of a true philosopher.

Henry III., an imbecile prince, was, at this time, king of England; and encouraged the vassals of the French crown, in frequent rebellions. Of these, one of the most restless was the duke of Brittany; who, when the English monarch, employed at home, by disputes with his own subjects, could no longer aid him in his revolts, threw himself at his sovereign's feet, with a rope about his neck, imploring mercy, and declaring that he surrendered to him all his dominions, and also his own person, to be punished as the king should direct.

1244. The rigid adherence of Louis, to orthodoxy, was his foible. Persuaded that heretics, or those who did not hold the established belief of the Roman Catholic church, deserved the punishment of death, he favoured the

tribunal of the inquisition; and the same disposition of mind, led him to ascribe merit to a war against infidels. A dangerous illness having deprived him of his senses, and almost of his life, he made a vow, as soon as he recovered, to engage in a new crusade; and immediately assumed the cross.

1248. Though he could not be dissuaded from the expedition, he was in no hurry to depart. He spent four years, in making preparations, and in settling the government of his kingdom, which he left to the care of his mother.

It was decreed, at a parliament held at Paris, that all private wars should cease, during five years; that no process should be instituted against the crusaders, on account of debt, for the term of three years; and that the clergy should pay one-tenth of their revenues to the king. This last regulation excited great murmurs, amongst the clergy; who had hitherto highly applauded the crusade; and were particularly offended at the tax being levied by the commissioners of the pope. One of these ministers of extortion, meeting a village-clerk, with some pieces of bread, which he had collected in carrying holy water from house to house, requested to know how much his profits, in that occupation, amounted to, in a year; and, being told that they produced about twenty sols, he immediately insisted on the payment of two sols, for the pope; with which demand, the poor man was obliged to comply.

At length, with a fleet of eighteen-hundred vessels, the king bent his course to Cyprus; accompanied by his queen, his three brothers, and nearly all the knights of France.

At Cyprus, it was resolved to make a descent upon Egypt; as it was supposed that the Holy Land could not be preserved to the Christians, while that country was in possession of the Mahometans. A flattering ray of success shone upon his first attempt. The soldiers, in the ship which bore the Oriflamme, or standard of St. Dennis, leaped out upon the ground: the king seeing that banner on the bank, could not restrain himself, but threw himself into the sea, sword-in-hand; and the knights and his troops did the same. He landed near Damietta; which, contrary to all expectation, the garrison and inhabitants, terrified by a false report of the sultan's death, had abandoned. He made his entry into the city, in the manner of a procession, barefooted, with the queen, his brother, and all the nobles of the army; preceded

by the legate of the pope, bearing an elevated cross, the patriarch of Jerusalem, the bishops, and all the clergy of the camp.

He afterwards received fresh succours from France, and found himself in the plains of Egypt, at the head of sixty-thousand men; the flower of his kingdom, by whom he was both obeyed and loved. But “the battle is not always to the strong.” This crusade, like the two by which
1250. it had been preceded, ended in sorrow and disappointment. One half of these fine troops, fell a prey to debauchery and sickness; the remainder was defeated, by the sultan, at Massoura; where Louis beheld his brother Robert of Artois, killed, by his side, and himself taken prisoner, with his two other brothers, the counts of Anjou and Poitiers, and all his nobles.

In this battle, extraordinary valour was displayed, on both sides. The Mahometans were in hopes of surprising the camp of Louis; but, before they reached it, the king having been informed of their intention, by his scouts, had formed his army in order of battle, near the camp. At noon, the Mahometans sounded the charge, with drums and trumpets. A flight of a prodigious number of darts and arrows, was sustained, with much resolution, by the Christian soldiers: but they were disconcerted by the wild-fire, which they had not before seen used, in battles. It enwrapped in flame the men’s clothes, and the caparisons of their horses; of which, the troopers were no longer masters. The terrible cries of those who were burning, were every where to be heard; the Mahometans took advantage of this confusion, and put nearly all the invaders to the rout.

The French, however, were still in possession of Damietta. There, the queen lodged; but, thinking her safety doubtful, as the place was besieged, she addressed herself to the Sieur Joinville, a venerable knight, and made him promise, on the faith of chivalry, to cut off her head, should her person be in danger of insult.—“Most readily,” answered Joinville, in the true spirit of the times, “will I perform, at your request, what, indeed, I designed to do, of myself, should it be made necessary, by misfortune.”—But, he had happily no occasion to execute his promise. Damietta was maintained, and a treaty was concluded, with the sultan; by which, that city was restored, in consideration of the king’s

liberty, and a thousand pieces of gold, paid for the ransom of the other prisoners.

1254. The zeal of Louis, against the Mahometans, was not cooled, by his calamity in Egypt. Religious devotion led him to Palestine; where he continued three years, without effecting any thing of importance. But the death of the queen-mother, determined him, at length, to return to France.

His love of justice, his care to reform abuses, his wise laws, and virtuous example, soon removed the evils occasioned by his absence. He prohibited private wars, which the feudal anarchy had cherished; substituted judicial process, for the superstitious mode of trial by duel; and, no less enlightened than pious, rescued France from the exactions of the court of Rome.

We have spoken of the justice of the king of France. When not excited by the bigotry of the age in which he lived, this character is true: but surely no man can strictly be called just, who uses violence against another, because he differs from him in religious faith. This charge stands

1270. recorded against Louis. Hoping to make a convert of the king of Tunis, he landed on the coast of Africa, at the head of his troops. But the Tunisian prince refused to become a Christian; the French troops were seized with an epidemic distemper; of which, Louis saw one of his sons expire, and another at the point of death; when he himself caught the infection, and died, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the forty-fourth of his reign.

Louis had no sooner resigned his breath, than the sound of trumpets announced the arrival of the king of Sicily, his brother. Astonished to find his salute unanswered, Charles began to be alarmed; and, leaving his troops to the care of his officers, he galloped towards the royal tent; where, the first object that presented itself to his sight, was the corpse of his brother, extended on those ashes, which the pious monarch had chosen for his death-bed.

The remains of Louis were conveyed to Paris; and, twenty-seven years afterwards, he was canonized by pope Boniface VIII.

We have already noticed the strict attention of Louis, to a prompt and partial administration of justice. He greatly encouraged the practice of appeals, and frequently adminis-

tered justice, with all the ancient simplicity, in person. "I have often seen the saint," says Joinville, "sitting under the shade of an oak, in the wood of Vincennes; when all who had any complaint, freely approached him. At other times, he gave orders to spread a carpet in a garden; and, seating himself upon it, heard the causes that were brought before him."

A poor priest came one day to this monarch when he was at his devotions in the church, and told him that the bailiffs were about to arrest him for a sum which he was unable to pay. The king immediately ordered him the money, saying, "You have very luckily chosen the time to address me. It is but just, that I should show some compassion to the distressed, when I have been entreating God to have some compassion on myself."

A poor woman complained one day to Louis, that the priests would not inter her husband in holy ground, because he had died insolvent.—"Good woman," said he, I did not make the law, I assure you. Here is some money, to pay your husband's debts, and I will order the priests to bury him as you wish."

Louis, as we have before mentioned, abolished the absurd and barbarous custom of trial by combat, and introduced the trial by evidence, in its stead. But his regulations, with respect to this, were confined to his own domains. The great vassals of the crown, possessed so independent authority, and were so fondly attached to the ancient practice, that he durst not venture to extend it to the whole kingdom.

In order to stop the encroachments of the pope, and the licentious conduct of his ministers, Louis issued that famous ordonnance, so well known by the name of the Pragmatic Sanction. In this, he confirmed the prelates and all the patrons of livings, in the full enjoyment of their rights; secured the liberties of the Gallican church, from the invasions of the court of Rome; banished simony from the kingdom, as a pest highly injurious to religion; and forbade the court of Rome to levy, in future, any of those imposts which had impoverished the kingdom, without his express permission, and the consent of the Gallican church.

Two orders of monks, both mendicants, were settled at Paris, during this reign. The famous college of the Sorbonne, was also established, for the study of theology, by

an ecclesiastic, named Robert, of obscure parents, (the confessor of St. Louis) who resided at Sorbonne, a small village, in the Rhetelois.

PHILIP III.

1270—1285.

After the death of the late monarch, on the coast of Africa, his son and successor, Philip III., (surnamed the Hardy) having defeated the Tunisians, concluded with them a treaty of peace; and thus, saved the shattered remains of the French army.

This was the sixth and last of those wild expeditions, which, during a period of one-hundred-and-seventy-four years, had disturbed the peace both of Asia and Europe; and drained France, of more than two-millions of inhabitants.

Twenty-one years afterwards, (in 1291) the sultan Calib took the city of Acre, the firmest rampart of the eastern Christians, by assault; and, soon after the reduction of that important place, the crusaders were easily and finally expelled from the Holy Land. Palestine was abandoned to the Saracens; and the wretched enthusiasts, who had left their native homes, in quest of imaginary glory, were now constrained to wander, destitute and forsaken, over the face of the earth, in search of those real comforts, which they had vainly sacrificed to visionary hopes.

After Philip's return to France, his reign was not marked by any great event; being spent chiefly in humbling the refractory nobles in the southern provinces; and in unimportant wars, with the kings of Castile and Arragon.

1285. He died, at Perpignan, in the forty-first year of his age, and the sixteenth of his reign.

PHILIP IV.,

SURNAMED THE FAIR.

1285—1314.

The reign of Philip IV., surnamed the Fair, who succeeded his father, Philip the Hardy, in his eighteenth year and was crowned king of Navarre, in right of his wife, forms an era in the History of France, by the civil and political regulations which it produced; the institution of the

supreme tribunals, called Parliaments; and the formal admission of the Commons, or Third Estate, into the general assemblies of the nation; a right which had existed amongst the ancients Franks.

The composing of all differences with his neighbours, Philip was enabled to effect, by the mediation of his brother-in-law, Edward I., of England; against whom, however, he afterwards ungenerously commenced hostilities, while that monarch was engaged in a war with Scotland.

This rupture with the English nation, was caused by an incident of but trifling importance. A Norman and an English vessel met, off the coast, near Bayonne; and both having occasion for water, they sent their boats ashore, and the several crews came, at the same time, to the same spring. A quarrel ensued, when a Norman, drawing his dagger, attempted to stab an Englishman; who, grappling with him, threw his adversary upon the ground, and the Norman, as was pretended, falling upon his own dagger, was slain. This scuffle between two seamen, about water, soon kindled a destructive war between the two countries, and involved a great part of Europe in the quarrel. The mariners of the Norman ship, carried their complaints to the French king; and Philip, without inquiring into the fact, or demanding redress, bade them take revenge, and trouble him no more about the matter. The Normans needed only this hint, to proceed to immediate violence. They seized an English ship, in the channel; and, hanging, along with some dogs, several of the crew, on the yard-arm, dismissed the vessel, and bade the mariners to inform their countrymen, that vengeance was now taken for the murder of the Norman.

We must not pass over, unnoticed, the transactions between Philip and the court of Rome; nor the extinction of the celebrated order of knights templars, which happened in this reign.

1303. Pope Boniface VIII. had prohibited the clergy from granting any subsidies to princes, without his leave. Philip thought that the clergy, being the richest order in the state, should contribute to the wants of the crown, without any application to Rome: he therefore encountered the pope's bull, by an edict, forbidding any of the French clergy from sending money abroad, without the royal permission. There was accordingly despatched, to

France, a legate; who threatened the kingdom with an interdict, and the king himself with excommunication: but Philip, despising the papal thunder, ordered him to be confined, and assembled the states of the kingdom; by whom, his conduct, in this delicate matter, was approved.

The king was now at liberty to treat the pope as an open enemy. He accordingly leagued with the family of Cologne; a body of desperadoes were suddenly collected, in Italy; with which, William and Sciara Cologne surprised Boniface, at Anagni, a town in his dominions, exclaiming, "Let the pope die, and long live the king of France!" Boniface, however, did not lose his courage. Having dressed himself in his cope, and put the tiara upon his head, holding the keys in one hand, and the cross in the other, he presented himself, with an air of majesty, before his conqueror; a gallant behaviour; which had such an effect upon the minds of the inhabitants, that they rose against his enemies, and rescued him from their hands.

A reconciliation was soon afterwards effected, between Boniface and Philip. He granted the avaricious monarch a tenth of the revenues of the clergy, for three years; and, farther to gratify him, he canonized his ancestor, Saint Louis, after *sixty-three miracles* had been duly verified: "a canonization," says the pope, in one of his panegyrics upon that monarch, "which produced more writings, than an ass could carry."

The next pope, Benedict XI., was of a disposition opposite to that of Boniface. That pontiff was succeeded by 1308. Clement V., a native of France; who removed the seat of the papal government, from Rome, to Avignon, where it continued during a period of sixty-eight years.*

To the cause assigned for this removal, we do not willingly give credence. Some historians have made no scruple to ascribe it to the pope's attachment to the countess of Perigord, daughter of the count de Foix; a lady of exquisite beauty, from whom he could not bear to part.

The usual dress of the men, in these times, was, the long tunic, with a robe or cloak, and sometimes both, over it: the short jacket, except in camp, being confined to servants. The cloak, particularly when trimmed with fur, was worn only by persons of a certain rank. It was fastened with a

* Until 1376.

clasp, on the right shoulder, so as to allow full liberty to the right arm; was tucked up, on the left side, above the sword, and hung loose behind, as low as the ground.—The different classes of the nobility, were distinguished by the breadth of the border of their cloaks, by the quality of the fur or ermine with which it was trimmed, the size of the cape, and length of the train. The cloak of a duke, count, baron, or knight, was made of scarlet or violet cloth. Hats were not yet known. Caps were worn, of velvet, or of cloth: the first, which were laced, were confined to kings, princes, and knights. Over the cap, was worn a kind of hood, with a cushion at the top, and a tail hanging down behind. This part of the head dress, common to both sexes, was called a *chaperon*. The chaperons of people of distinction, were larger than those of others, and trimmed with fur: those of the common people were plain, and formed like a sugar-loaf.

During the reign of Philip, the long shoes, turned up at the toes, were introduced into France. They are said to have been first worn by a nobleman, who had a large fleshy excrescence at the end of one of his feet, for the purpose of concealing that deformity. They soon became general; and, thenceforth, a man's rank was known by the length of his shoes. Those of a prince were two feet and a half in length; those of a baron, two feet; while a simple knight was reduced to a foot and a half, and a plain citizen to one.—The bishops long exclaimed, in vain, against this absurd custom; which they called “a sin against nature”—an insult to the Creator; and the wearing of such shoes was nearly declared *heresy*. To effect its abolition, all those who followed it were sentenced to pay a fine of ten florins; a regulation which had the desired effect: but the long shoes were succeeded by large slippers, above a foot wide.

The religious and military order of knights templars, which had arisen during the first excitement of the crusades, had made rapid advances, in credit and authority; and acquired, from the piety of the faithful, ample possessions, in every Christian country, particularly in France. But their inclination was at length changed. Relinquishing their fruitless expeditions into Asia, and scorning the ignoble occupations of a monastic life, they passed their time in the fashionable amusements of hunting and gallantry, and the pleasures of the table. To the last, they were particularly addicted; and a French proverb is still in use—*Boire comme*

un Templier—(to drink like a Templar); which attests their attachment to the bottle.

The severity of the taxes, and the mal-administration of Philip, with regard to the coin, which he had repeatedly altered in its value, occasioned an insurrection in Paris. The knights Templars were accused of partaking in the tumult. They were affluent, the king was in want of money, and he determined to involve the whole order in one undistinguished ruin. They were charged with robbery, murder, and idolatry, and all the vices most shocking to human nature. Above a hundred knights were stretched upon the rack; great numbers were burned alive; their treasures were seized, and pope Clement V., by the plenitude of his apostolic power, in a general council, at Vienne, without examining a single witness, or making any inquiry into the charges alleged against them, and contrary to the opinion of all the bishops of Europe, except four, abolished the whole order; and, in consequence, their lands were seized, and the Templars, in every part of Europe, were imprisoned.

1314. Philip did not long survive this barbarous injustice. The failure of an attack upon the count of Flanders, together with some domestic misfortunes, threw him into a languishing consumption; which closed his intriguing life, in the forty-seventh year of his age, and thirtieth of his reign.

He left three sons,—Louis, Philip, and Charles; all of whom were kings of France, in succession; and also one daughter, Isabella, married to Edward II., king of England.

It was in this reign, (in the year 1302,) that the Commons were first summoned to attend the national assemblies. Indeed, this may be considered the true epoch of National Parliaments, in France; which, by a royal edict, were appointed to be held twice every year, at Paris.

Philip founded the University of Orleans, was attached to the study of the belles-lettres, and extended his patronage and protection to every one who cultivated the sciences.

Amongst the celebrated characters that flourished during this reign, were William de Nangis, John de Meun, and William Duranti. The first of these, who was a monk of St. Dennis, finished the life of Saint Louis, which had been begun by one of his brethren, named Gilion de Rheims. He also compiled the life of Philip the Hardy, and continued

the history written by Sigebert, the monk of Gemblours, from the year 1114, to 1300.—John de Meun is famous for his continuation of the celebrated poem, entitled, “the Romance of the Rose;” which had been commenced, forty years before, by William de Lorris: he was likewise author of a French translation of the Epistles of Abelard, and some other works of inferior note.

LOUIS X.,

SURNAMED HUTIN.

1314—1316.

The short reign of Louis X., eldest son of the late king, (surnamed Hutin) which continued only a year and a half, presents nothing worthy of remembrance.

Why the appellation of Hutin was given to this monarch, has not been determined. The literal signification of this obsolete term, is “imperious,” “peevish,” or “quarrelsome:” but there was nothing in the disposition of Louis, that could justify the annexation of such epithets to his name. Mezeray is of opinion, that, he was called Hutin, either from the circumstance of his having been sent, by his father, to quell the Hutins, or insurgents of Navarre and Lyons; or because, in his infancy, he had given symptoms of a martial disposition, by assembling the young noblemen of the court, whom he drew up in order of battle, and made go through their exercise.

PHILIP V.

1316—1322.

Three-hundred-and-twenty-nine years had now elapsed, since the accession of Hugh Capet; during which period, the crown of France had descended, regularly, from father to son, through eleven generations; a series of lineal inheritance, of very uncommon continuation. But the death of the last prince, without male issue, caused a dispute concerning the succession. During the space of nine-hundred years, the French monarchy had always been governed by males; and no female, nor any male claiming his descent through females, had ever been suffered to mount the throne.

Philip the Long, and Jane, queen of Navarre, preferred their claims; the former, as the brother, the latter, as the daughter of Louis Hutin.

The states general being convened, the matter was debated; and it was finally declared, that, in conformity with the Salique Law, (said to be found in the code of an ancient tribe amongst the Franks,) females could not inherit the crown of France. In consequence of this, the brother of the late king, who had just entered his twenty-fourth year, ascended the throne, under the title of Philip V. But his reign, like that of his immediate predecessor, was short, and devoid of interest. He died, without male issue, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the sixth of his reign. His body was conveyed to St. Dennis; his heart, to the convent of the Cordeliers, at Paris; and his entrails, to the Jacobins. "Those good fathers," says Mezeray, "had, from the time of St. Louis, claimed a right of having a part of the entrails of their sovereigns—less for the honour of the circumstance, than for the emoluments with which it was generally accompanied."

Philip was a just and virtuous prince, whose only fault appears to have been an exorbitant love of money, which sometimes led him to the adoption of measures inconsistent with the general tenor of his conduct.

CHARLES IV.

1322—1328.

The reign of Charles IV., brother of the last monarch, and the only surviving son of Philip the Fair, was, like that of his two immediate predecessors, short and unimportant; presenting nothing worthy of the historic page; nothing worthy of reflection. He died in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the sixth of his reign, leaving only a daughter, and consequently no heir to the crown.

He was a prince distinguished neither for any great virtues, nor remarkable vices: avarice was his chief defect; but, when that did not lead him to acts of oppression, he enforced a due observance of order, and an impartial administration of justice.

PHILIP VI.

BATTLE OF CRECY.

1328—1350.

The three sons of Philip the Fair, had now sat on the throne of France, and died without leaving male issue; a circumstance which caused another dispute as to the succession. The claimants were Edward III., king of England, and Philip, count of Valois. Edward, being the son of Isabella, daughter of Philip the Fair, was, consequently, the maternal grandson of that monarch, and nephew of the three last kings of France. Philip of Valois was only their cousin-german; being a nephew of Philip the Fair. Edward was, therefore, the nearest relation, in degree; but descended from a female. Philip, though more distant in consanguinity, was descended from a male. The king of England alleged, that the exclusion of females, by the Salique law, did not affect their male descendants. The count of Valois insisted, that not only the females themselves, but also their posterity, were excluded; and, that, were the sons of excluded females, deemed competent to succeed, Charles, king of Navarre, descended from a daughter of Louis Hutin, had a superior claim to Edward. This is a brief statement of the case. The peers of France decided in favour of Philip; who, in consequence, ascended the throne, in the thirty-sixth year of his age.

Although the youthful and ambitious Edward, then only in his fifteenth year, had entertained the notion, that he had a just right to the crown of France, he was deterred, by the experience and reputation of the French king, from persisting in his claim; and afterwards did homage to his rival, for the dutchy of Guienne. It is probable, therefore, that he would not have thought of it further, had it not been for some incidents, which excited an animosity between them.

Robert d'Artois, descended from the royal blood of France, having lost his domains, by an unjust decree of Philip the Fair, had endeavoured to recover them, by a measure as iniquitous, as that by which he had been divested. This led to his disgrace and banishment by the present king. He took refuge at the court of Edward; and endeavoured to rekindle his latent ambition, with regard to the crown of France. The English monarch was not averse to the sug-

gestion. He was displeased with Philip's conduct towards himself, in extorting homage for Guienne; and his having encouraged the people of Scotland, in their struggle for independence.

Anxious to secure the Flemings in his interest, Philip offered to procure the restoration of some of their ancient privileges; but, mindful of the injuries which they had received, they were to be conciliated neither by promises nor threats. Failing in this, he tried another mode. He complained to the pope; who attacked them with all the thunders of the church; and pronounced against them an excommunication, so positive and terrible, that no one dared to celebrate divine service. Alarmed at their situation, the Flemings had recourse to the king of England; who told them, not to be frightened; for, that the first time he crossed the sea, he would carry over with him plenty of English priests, who would say mass for them, in spite of the pope.

1339. Edward's first invasion of France, accompanied chiefly by Flemish and German allies, was abortive. When Philip appeared against him, with an army of nearly double the force, he retired into Flanders, and dispersed his troops.

1340. But the English monarch was not of a disposition, to be disheartened, by the failure of a first attempt. He seemed still resolved to be king of France. In the following year, he put to sea, with a fleet of two-hundred-and-forty ships; and, when off Sluise, having encountered the fleet of Philip, consisting of four-hundred, he defeated it, with the loss of two-hundred-and-thirty ships, and thirty-thousand men. This was a severe stroke, to the power of France. It was the first naval conflict, between the English and the French. None of Philip's courtiers dared inform him of the event, until his fool, or jester, had given him a hint, by which he perceived the greatness of his loss.

Edward marched towards the frontiers of France, with an army of one-hundred-thousand men, and laid siege to Tournay. But, every assault, made by him, against this place, was repulsed. The valour, on the one side, was encountered, with equal valour, on the other. Irritated, at length, by the disagreeable prospect of the campaign, he sent Philip a defiance; and challenged him to decide their claims for the crown of France, either by single combat, or by an action of a hundred against a hundred. But Philip

could not be diverted from the line of prudence. He reminded Edward of his having done homage for Guienne; that it ill became a vassal to challenge his liege lord and sovereign; and that he proposed a duel upon very unequal terms, by offering to hazard only his own person, against the kingdom of France, and the person of the king; but proposed, that if Edward would increase his stake, and put also the kingdom of England upon the issue of the duel, he would willingly accept the challenge. No duel, however, was fought; no battle of a hundred against a hundred. Neither of the kings was serious. These mutual bravados were intended only to dazzle the populace: they had more wisdom, than to think of executing their pretended purpose; and the campaign ended with a truce.

The truce was, however, only of short duration. The sword was soon again unsheathed, and the bowstring tightened for destruction.

An unexpected occurrence intervened, which furnished the king of England with an opportunity of attacking Philip, in the centre of his dominions. A dispute having arisen, between the count of Montfort and Charles of Blois, in regard to the succession to the duchy of Brittany, the court of peers gave a verdict in favour of Charles; and the count, having resisted this decree, was carried a prisoner to Paris. But his affairs were unexpectedly retrieved, by the magnanimity of his consort. Assembling the inhabitants of Rennes, where she then resided, and taking her infant son in her arms, she conjured them to extend their protection to the last male heir of their ancient sovereigns; and expatiated on the resources that were still to be derived from the powerful assistance of England. She visited all the garrisons, and concerted the proper plans of defence. At Hennebonne, the brave countess commanded in person. This was the strongest fortress in Brittany; and the garrison, actuated by the presence and example of this incomparable heroine, prepared for a vigorous defence. The countess herself performed prodigies of valour. Assaults, the most violent and incessant, she sustained, without shrinking. Clad in complete armour, she stood foremost in the breach, and repelled, with irresistible courage, all the attacks of Charles; and, in the encouragement and support of her troops, displayed a degree of skill, that would have done honour to the most experienced general.

Perceiving, one day, that the besiegers, occupied in a general attack, had left their camp unguarded, she immediately sallied forth, by a postern, with a body of five-hundred horse; set fire to their tents, baggage, and magazines; and created so universal an alarm, that the enemy desisted from the assault, in order to cut off her communication with the town. Finding herself intercepted, she galloped off to Auray; which place she reached in safety; and, five days afterwards, she returned, with her little army, cut her way through a part of the camp, and entered the town, in triumph.

At length, however, so many breaches were made in the walls, that the bishop of Leon, in opposition to her prayers and remonstrances, had determined to capitulate. He was accordingly engaged in a conference with Charles of Blois, when the countess, who had ascended the summit of a lofty tower, and was casting an eager look towards the sea, descried a fleet, at a distance. She instantly descended, ran into the street, and exclaimed, in a transport of joy—"succours—succours!—the English succours!—no capitulation!"—Nor was she mistaken: the English fleet soon afterwards entered the harbour; and the troops, under the command of Sir Walter Manny, being landed, immediately sallied from the city, and attacked the camp of the besiegers, which was once more reduced to ashes, after a great many of its defenders had been slain.

1346. The army of Edward, which, during the ensuing campaign, was favoured with almost unparalleled success, consisted of about thirty-thousand men—English, Irish, and Welsh. After destroying all the ships, at La Hogue, where he landed, and also at Barfleur and Cherbourg, he spread his army over the whole country; took Caën, by storm, and carried his ravages to the very gates of Paris. But, being closely pressed, by the French monarch, at the head of a hundred-thousand men, he was at length obliged to act on the defensive, and retreat. His situation was alarming. As a last resource, he made a stand, at the village of Crecy; and here, was fought, the memorable battle, which has immortalized his name.

He drew up his army upon a gentle ascent, and divided it into three lines. The first was commanded by his eldest son, the prince of Wales; called, after the colour of his armour, the Black Prince, then only in his sixteenth year: the earl of Arundel was at the head of the second; and the

third, intended as a reserve, was under the direction of the king himself.

Philip was advised to defer engaging, until his troops had recovered from their fatigue: but one division of his army pressed upon another; orders to halt were not seasonably conveyed, to all; and they arrived in presence of the enemy, perplexed by confusion, and weakened by fatigue. The first line, consisting of fifteen-thousand cross-bow-men, was commanded by Anthony Doria, and Charles Grimaldi; the second, by the count d'Alençon; the third, by the king of France.

Besides the French monarch, there were in this engagement, no less than three crowned heads,—the king of Bohemia, the king of the Romans, his son, and the king of Majorca; with all the nobility and great vassals of the crown of France. The French army now consisted of one-hundred-and-twenty-thousand men, nearly four times the number of the English; and never had European soldiers faced each other on a more interesting occasion.

Incidents, seemingly unimportant, decide the chances of success. There had happened, a little before the engagement, a thunder-shower, which had moistened and relaxed the strings of the Genoese cross-bows; and their arrows, for this reason, could not reach the opposing ranks. The English, however, were not inconvenienced, from that cause. Taking their bows out of their cases, which had preserved them from the rain, their arrows are directed with their wonted force, and soon throw the Genoese into confusion. The artillery fire amongst the crowd, and the Black Prince leads on his division to the charge. The French cavalry, however, make a stout resistance, the battle becomes, for some time, full of danger, and the earl of Warwick, apprehensive of the event, from the superior numbers of the French, despatches a messenger to the English king, and entreats him to send assistance to the prince. But Edward, who surveyed the field of battle from a windmill, on the summit of a hill, was not in the least alarmed.—“Return,” said he, “to my son: tell him, that I reserve the honour of this day, for him; and that I feel confident he will be able, without my assistance, to repel the enemy.” This speech was a reviving cordial to the prince. He makes an attack upon the French, with redoubled vigour: the count d'Alençon is slain, his whole line of cavalry is thrown into disorder; the Welsh infantry

rush amongst the throng, and, with their long knives, cut the throats of all who had fallen; nor was any quarter given, on that day, by the victor.

Philip advanced, with the reserve, to support his brother. But he found the duke weltering in his blood, his line already broken, and the confusion prevalent in his own body, was increased by the example of their rout. He had himself a horse killed under him, was remounted, and, though left almost alone, seemed still determined to maintain the combat; when one of his attendants turned about his horse, and hurried him from the field of battle, slippery with streams of blood. The whole French army now took to flight, and were followed and put to the sword, without mercy, until the pursuit was ended by the darkness of the night.

On the day of battle, and on the ensuing, there fell, of the French army, thirty-six-thousand men. Many of the principal nobility of France, besides the kings of Bohemia and Majorca, breathed their last, on the field of Crecy. The fate of the former prince, was most singular. Blind, from age, yet resolved to set an example to others, he had ordered the reins of his bridle to be tied, on each side, to the horses of two gentlemen of his train; and his dead body, and those of his attendants, with their horses standing by them, in that situation, were afterwards found amongst the slain.

The trifling loss sustained by the English, is as remarkable, as the great slaughter of the French. They lost only one esquire, and three knights, and very few of inferior rank.

This was the first remarkable occasion, in which artillery had been used. The invention was then known in France, as well as in England; but, it is supposed, that Philip, in his hurry to overtake the enemy, had left his cannon behind.

The prudence of the English monarch, was not lessened by success. Not elated, by his signal victory, so as to expect the total conquest of the disputed kingdom, he proposed to secure only an easy entrance into France, by which he might afterwards seize any advantage that might offer. He therefore limited his ambition to the conquest of Calais.

1347. This place was defended, by John de Vienne, with remarkable bravery and vigilance, during a siege of eleven months; but the king of France, though he appeared with an army of two-hundred-thousand men, having failed

in driving away the enemy, or in succouring the starving garrison, the governor at length saw the necessity of surrendering the fortress; his soldiers, as well as the inhabitants, being reduced to the last extremity, by famine and fatigue. Not a horse, dog, cat, or rat, or any species of vermin, that was eatable, however unpalatable, remained unconsumed, within the town. He proposed a capitulation. Incensed, however, at the obstinacy of the besieged, who had now detained him nearly a whole year before their walls, Edward would not, at first, accept the surrender, on any terms, that would confine him in the punishment of its defenders: but, reflecting, afterwards, on the danger of retaliation, he was induced to soften the rigour of that condition. He only insisted, that six of the most considerable citizens, should be sent to him, to be disposed of as he thought proper; that they should come to his camp, carrying the keys of the city in their hands, bareheaded, and barefooted, with ropes about their necks; with which terms, if the governor complied, the lives of the remainder should be spared.

This communication, designed as an act of lenity, would, in this age, be considered as most barbarous rigour. Struck with consternation, the inhabitants could form no resolution, in so cruel a dilemma. At last, one of the principal inhabitants, called Eustace de St. Pierre, stepped forth, and declared that he would sacrifice himself, for the safety of his friends: animated by his example, another made a similar offer of self-devotion; a third and a fourth were excited by the same heroic spirit; and the whole number required, was soon completed. Habited as malefactors, they laid the keys of the city at Edward's feet; and, notwithstanding the intercession of his son and the English nobles, were ordered for execution.

But Edward's name was preserved from infamy, by the entreaties of his queen. When Sir Walter Manny, the officer who had been sent to arrange the conditions of the surrender, returned to the camp of the victorious Edward, with the gallant patriot, St. Pierre, and his fellow hostages, the monarch inquired, "Are these the principal inhabitants of Calais?"—"They are," replied Manny, "not only the principal men of Calais, but the principal men of France, if virtue has any share in nobility."—"Were they delivered peaceably?" inquired Edward. "Was there no resistance, no commotion amongst the people?"—"Not the least, sire.

The people would all have perished rather than have delivered the least of these to your majesty; but they are self-delivered, self-devoted, and come to offer their inestimable heads, as an ample equivalent for the ransom of thousands.”—Edward was secretly piqued at this reply; but he knew the privilege of a British subject, and suppressed his resentment.—“Experience,” said he, “has ever shown, that lenity serves only to incite people to more crimes. Severity, at times, is indispensably necessary, to compel subjects to submission. Go,” he cried, to an officer, “lead these men to execution.”—At this instant, the sound of a trumpet was heard throughout the camp. The queen had just arrived, with a reinforcement of gallant troops, from England. Sir Walter Manny flew to her majesty, and briefly informed her of the particulars respecting the six victims. As soon as Philippa had been welcomed by Edward and his court, her majesty desired a private audience.—“My lord,” said she, “the question that I am to enter upon, is not touching the lives of a few mechanics: it respects the honour of the English nation; it respects the glory of my Edward, my husband, my king! you think that you have sentenced six of your enemies to death. No, my lord, they have sentenced themselves. The stage on which they would suffer, would be to them a stage of honour; but to Edward, a stage of shame, a reproach to his conquests; an indelible stain on his name.”—These words flashed conviction upon the soul of Edward.—“I have done wrong, very wrong!” he exclaimed; “let the execution be instantly stayed, and the captives be brought before us.”—St. Pierre and his friends soon made their appearance; when the queen thus addressed them:—“Natives of France, and inhabitants of Calais, you have put us to a vast expense of blood and treasure, in the recovery of our just and natural inheritance: but you have acted up to the best of an erroneous judgment, and we admire and honour in you that valour and virtue, by which we are so long kept out of our rightful possessions. Noble burghers! excellent citizens! though you were tenfold the enemies of our person and our throne, we can feel nothing on our part towards you, save respect and affection. You have been sufficiently tried. We loose your chains; we snatch you from the scaffold; and we thank you for that lesson of humiliation which you teach us, when you show us that excellence is not of blood, of title, or of station; that vir-

tue gives a dignity superior to that of kings, and that those whom the Almighty informs with sentiments like yours, are justly and universally raised above all human distinctions."

"Ah my country!" exclaimed St. Pierre; "it is now that I tremble for you. Edward gains only our cities; but Philippa conquers hearts."

Having saved these gallant citizens from an unmerited death, she conducted them into her tent, ordered a repast to be set before them, and dismissed them, with presents, suitable to their immediate wants.

Edward took possession of Calais, and peopled it anew, with English; a policy which, it is likely, preserved, so long, to his successors, the dominion of that important fortress. He made it the staple of wool, leather, tin, and lead; the four chief, if not the sole commodities of England, for which there was then any demand, in a foreign market.

After the surrender of Calais, the blood-stained instruments of war, were allowed, for a while, to rest. Through the mediation of the pope's legate, Edward concluded a truce with France; but, even during this cessation of arms, the treachery of an Italian officer, whom he had appointed governor of Calais, had nearly deprived him of this city; the only remaining fruit of his victorious campaign. Edward hastened over to Calais. A sanguinary conflict ensued, before the walls. The king of England, who wore no particular badge of distinction, and fought, as a private man, under the standard of Sir Walter Manny, remarking a French knight, named Eustace de Ribau-mont, who was giving most signal proofs of extraordinary valour, conceived a desire of encountering him, in single combat. As he knew Ribau-mont, he challenged him, by name, and a most desperate action followed. Edward was twice beaten to the ground, and twice recovered: equal courage and skill were displayed, for some time, by both; but, at length, the Frenchman was compelled to acknowledge that he was beaten, and yielded up his sword.—The defeat became general, and all the party were either slain or made prisoners.—But the antagonist of Edward, was not long detained. The king presented him with a chaplet of pearls, saying, "I entreat you to wear this, for my sake. You are no longer a prisoner: I acquit you of your ransom; and to-morrow you will be at liberty to dispose of yourself, in whatever way is most pleasing to yourself."

1349. France was, at this time, afflicted with a most dreadful calamity. This year stands fatally distinguished, in history, by a general pestilence; which made so terrible ravages, not only in France, but in every country then known, that it is supposed to have swept away nearly one third of the human race.

1350. The following year, was the last of Philip's life. Worn out with the cares of royalty, and the effects of dissipation, he died, prematurely old, at Nogent le Roi, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and twenty-third of his reign.

Few monarchs have been more praised, by historians, than Philip of Valois, though few have had more slender claims to commendation. Though bold, he was not magnanimous; not pious, though devout. Stern, cruel, vindictive, and inflexible, the people of Flanders, and the nobles of Brittany, experienced the fatal effects of his pride and revenge.

On the accession of Philip to the throne of France, he found the people possessed, by the emancipation of the commons, of a degree of liberty, unknown to their ancestors. But the nation had not yet derived, from their improved condition, all the advantages that it was calculated to insure. Arts and manufactures were still in their infancy; and commerce, totally neglected by the natives, was abandoned to the avidity of foreigners—Italians, Spaniards, and Flemings. Yet, were luxury and ridiculous fashions, introduced. A head loaded with feathers, a long beard, chains around the neck, and a dress so tight and short, as to be inconsistent with decency, had already become objects of attention to the nobility; and of ambition to the common people.

Dauphiny having been annexed to the crown of France, in the present reign, the title of *dauphin*, has, ever since, been assumed, by the king's eldest son. The tax upon salt, called the *gabelle*, is also supposed to have been commenced by Philip. He established magazines of this article, in different parts of France; on which occasion, the king of England gave him the appellation of *Author of the Salique Law*; and Philip, in return, called his rival, *The Wool Merchant*; alluding to the supplies of this commodity, so frequently granted to him, by the parliament.

JOHN.

BATTLE OF POICTIERS.

1350—1364.

The incidents in the reign of John, the son and successor of the late king, caused the French to regret even the calamitous times of Philip. John was distinguished by many virtues; particularly a scrupulous fidelity and honour: nor was he deficient in personal courage: but, as he wanted that masterly prudence and foresight, required in his difficult situation, his kingdom was at the same time disturbed by intestine commotions, and harassed by foreign wars.

The principal authors of these calamities, were Charles, king of Navarre, surnamed the Bad; Stephen Marcel, provost of the merchants of Paris; and the bishop of Laon. Charles was descended from males of the royal blood of France. His mother was a daughter of Louis X.; and he had himself married a daughter of the reigning king: but these ties, which ought to have caused a friendly attachment to the throne, gave him only greater power to shake and overthrow it.

Marcel, having contrived to make himself governor of Paris, agreed to surrender the capital, to the king of Navarre. His troops, in conjunction with the rebels, after securing the Bastile, and the principal gates of the city, were to massacre all the friends of the regent, whose houses were already marked; and Charles was to be crowned king of France. Marcel accordingly repaired to the gate of St. Anthony, in the night of the last of July; and, having dismissed a part of the guard, and replaced them with such as were devoted to his service, he took the keys of the gate from the officer to whose care they had been intrusted. Hitherto, he had met with no obstacle; and the town was on the point of being surrendered to Charles the Bad, when John Maillard, a loyal citizen, whose name merits a distinguished place in the annals of France, arrived, with a party of his friends, and, seizing Marcel, saved his country.—When he came up to the traitor, he exclaimed, “Stephen, what are you doing here, at this hour?”—“John,” said Marcel, “what is that to you? I am here, to take care of the town, of which I am governor.”—“That is not the case,”

replied Maillard; "you are not here, at this hour, for any good; and I will show you," addressing himself to his companions, "that he has got the keys of the gate in his hand, for the purpose of betraying the city."—"John, you lie!" said the provost.—"You are the liar," returned Maillard, in a transport of rage; then, grasping his battle-axe, with one blow, he laid him dead at his feet.

But John, at length, found an opportunity of seizing the person of that atrocious monarch. Having been invited, by the dauphin, to a grand repast, at Rouen, the invitation was accepted; and Charles came, attended by a number of his most faithful adherents. During the preceding night, the king left Manneville, attended by a hundred men at arms. He arrived at the gate of Rouen, at the very hour of dinner; and, passing round the outside of the walls, entered the castle, by a private door, and presented himself in the room, where the guests were assembled. The moment he appeared, every one arose from his seat; a goblet of wine was offered to him, but he refused to take it, and exclaimed, with a countenance inflamed with rage, "Let no one stir, under pain of death!" He immediately went up to the king of Navarre, and secured him. The count of Harcourt attempted to escape, but was instantly stopped. All the nobles and knights, in the retinue of Charles, endeavoured to force a passage; a few of them escaped, but the greater part were seized, and confined in different parts of the castle: the count of Harcourt and four others, were put into carts, when the king mounted his horse, and, attended by the dauphin, and his men at arms, conducted them to a field, near the town, where he caused them to be beheaded. The king of Navarre was carried to the Louvre, at Paris; whence, he, in the following year, effected his escape; an event which caused all virtuous men to shudder, and produced unparalleled calamity to France.

Charles and the dauphin frequently dined together, at Paris. It is supposed to have been at one of these repasts, that he found means of administering poison to the latter; which was so violent in its operation, that, notwithstanding he had immediate assistance, his nails and his hair fell off, and he felt the effects of it during the remainder of his life.

Meanwhile, the kingdom was again afflicted, by a general famine, attended with the most dreadful effects. The scar

city of 'corn* produced so great an augmentation of its price, that none but the most opulent could afford to purchase it; and the necessity of the people was so great, that the wretched peasantry were constrained to feed upon the roots of the earth, and even upon the bark of trees.

1356. The truce between England and France, which had been ill observed, on both sides, had now expired; so that Edward was at liberty to support the French malcontents. The war was renewed. With an army of only twelve-thousand men, the prince of Wales ventured to penetrate into the heart of France. But the appearance of the French king, with a force of sixty-thousand, obliged him to retreat, towards Bourdeaux. The pursuers came within sight of the English, near Poitiers; and young Edward, sensible that a further retreat had become impracticable, prepared for battle. While Eustace de Ribault, and two other officers of the French army, were reconnoitering the enemy, the king, mounted on a white courser, rode along the ranks, and thus addressed his men:—"Soldiers, when you are at Paris, Chartres, Rouen, or Orleans, you threaten the English, and wish to be in their presence, with your helmets on:—now, you are in their presence; yonder, they are. If you wish to take vengeance, for the injuries you have sustained, and to punish your enemies, for what they have made you suffer, now is your time; for we shall certainly fight them." The French immediately took measures for an assault; fully confident of an easy victory. But they were miserably deceived. The battle of Poitiers, fought on the nineteenth of September, little more than ten years after that of Crecy, was still more disastrous to France. Six-thousand of the French army who were slain, and fifteen-thousand made prisoners, were not their only loss. The king, himself, and his son Philip, were amongst the captives; also, the duke of Bourbon, and the constable of France; with fifty of the principal nobles, and eight-hundred barons and gentlemen of distinction.

A worthy band of valorous knights, crowding around their king, long enabled him to resist the impetuous attacks of the enemy. A body of German cavalry being placed in the front, the prince of Wales rushed upon them, with great fury, killed two of their leaders, and made a prisoner of the

* The word *corn*, in Europe, is a generic term, including every species of grain used in making bread.

third. Still, however, the French, animated by the presence and example of their sovereign, made a desperate resistance. But the king was, at length, left to sustain the whole fury of the English. His son Philip, fighting by his side, displayed an intrepidity superior to his age: whenever a blow was aimed at his father, he rushed forward, to intercept it; and, in thus discharging the duties of a child and a hero, he received a most glorious wound. The standard of France by this time lay prostrate on the ground, clasped in the lifeless arms of the valiant Charny; who had refused to quit the precious charge. The ranks were thinned; the carnage was dreadful. Still, the king seemed to rise superior to misfortune: wielding his battle-axe, with amazing dexterity and strength, he dealt destruction to all who ventured to approach him. He seemed intent on victory or death. But, exhausted, at length, by such violent exertion, and having received two wounds in the face, from the loss of his helmet, which had fallen off, in the heat of action, he was constrained to surrender, to an outlawed knight of Artois, named Dennis de Morbec.

The prince conducted his royal prisoner to Bourdeaux; and, after concluding a truce for two years, carried him to England.

The mayor of London met the prince in Southwark, followed by the aldermen, adorned with the insignia of their office, and one-thousand of the principal citizens. The captive monarch was arrayed in royal robes, and mounted on a superb white charger, gorgeously caparisoned; while his princely victor, simply habited, rode by his side, on a black palfrey, the figure and trappings of which bespoke that humility which dignified and adorned the mind of its master; his whole deportment displaying the modesty and self-abasement of true chivalry, and that kind consideration, which one knight always showed to his brother in arms.

The captivity of the French monarch and nobility, joined to the preceding disorders of the kingdom, produced an almost total dissolution of sovereign authority, and the most horrible and destructive acts of violence, experienced by any nation. A body of nine-thousand savage peasantry, broke into Meaux; where the wife of the dauphin, the dutchess of Orleans, and above three-hundred other ladies, had taken shelter. Their situation was most dreadful. Hope itself had fled from their timid breasts. The most brutal

treatment was apprehended, by this fair and helpless company; when the count de Foix, and the capital de Buche, with the aid of only sixty knights, animated with the gallant spirit of chivalry, flew to their rescue, and beat off the rapacious assailants, with great slaughter.

1359. The truce had no sooner expired, than Edward again invaded France. On the twenty-seventh of October, he sailed for Calais, with a fleet of eleven-hundred ships; on board of which, were his four eldest sons, all the principal nobility of England, and an army of one-hundred-thousand men. He ravaged the country, without opposition; pillaged many towns; levied contributions upon others; and burned several villages, within sight of the walls of Paris: but, finding that his army could not subsist in a kingdom, wasted by foreign and domestic enemies, he concluded, at Bretigni, an advantageous peace.

1360. It was stipulated, that John should pay three-millions of gold crowns, for his ransom: that Edward should for ever renounce all claim to the crown of France, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Touraine, and Anjou, possessed by his ancestors; in exchange for which, he should receive the provinces of Poictou, Saintonge, l'Agénois, Perigord, Limosin, Quercy, and other districts, in that quarter; together with Calais, Guisnes, Montreuil, and the county of Ponthieu, on the other side of France; and that the sovereignty of these provinces, as well as of Guienne, should be vested in the crown of England, without homage to France.

By this treaty, John was restored to liberty, after a captivity of four years: but, some difficulties having arisen, in its execution, he formed the honourable resolution
1364. of returning to England, in order to remove them; where he soon afterwards died, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and fourteenth of his reign.

John was heroically brave, faithful to his word, the friend of honour, truth, and justice. He was fond of literature, and extended his protection and bounty to its professors. He caused a great part of the Bible, and several other religious works, to be translated into French. The first translation of the decades of Livy, into the French language, was undertaken at his command. Sallust, Lucan, and the Commentaries of Cæsar, were also translated, during this reign.

CHARLES V.

1364—1380.

John was succeeded by his eldest son, Charles V., now in his twenty-seventh year; a prince distinguished for his prudence; the first European monarch that discontinued the practice of appearing at the head of his armies, in the field of battle.

The defeat and entire discomfiture of the king of Navarre, the great disturber of the nation, during this age, was not sufficient to restore order to the kingdom. Much was yet to be accomplished. On the conclusion of the peace of Bretigni, a multitude of adventurers, who had served in the preceding war, refused to lay down their arms. They even associated themselves with the banditti, already inured to the habits of violence and rapine; and, under the name of Companies, and Companions, became a terror to the peaceable inhabitants. Some English and Gascon gentlemen of character, were not ashamed to be at the head of these ruffians; whose number, increasing with their audacity, amounted to nearly forty-thousand. The grievance was enormous. The whole fabric of society was shaken. But, an occasion at length offering, of employing them in foreign service, Charles freed his country from their presence. They were invited to Castile, by Henry, count of Transtamara, to oppose the tyranny of Pedro, the natural brother of that prince.

Under the command of the celebrated French general, Bertrand du Guesclin, they directed their march towards Avignon, then the residence of the pope. His holiness had no reason to expect this visit; and, when the army was approaching, he sent a cardinal, to menace them with excommunication, unless they immediately left the territories of the church. The cardinal was told, by du Guesclin, that his soldiers must first have absolution, and two-hundred-thousand livres: the prelate answered, that they might have as many pardons as they chose, but, as for money, that was a different affair. Bertrand replied, that his men preferred gold to absolution; and that he would do well to bring the sum required, without delay. The pope then extorted the money from the inhabitants of the city and neighbourhood, and offered it to du Guesclin; but, being informed in what

manner it was raised, "It is not my purpose," he exclaimed, "to oppress innocent people. The pope and the cardinals can well spare me that sum, out of their own coffers. This money, I insist, must be restored to the owners; and, should they be defrauded of it, I shall myself return, from the other side of the Pyrennees, and oblige you to make them restitution."—This appeal was not without effect. The pope paid the amount, from his treasury; after which, the army proceeded on its expedition.

Du Guesclin easily prevailed over Pedro, until the Black Prince was induced to join the standard of the Spanish king. With a much inferior force, that heroic soldier encountered Transtamara, near Najara; and defeated him, with the loss of ten-thousand men killed, and as many taken prisoners; amongst whom, was du Guesclin himself.

Bertrand was detained a prisoner at Bourdeaux; and, as the prince of Wales had refused to release him, it was insinuated, to his captor, that this refusal was suspected to proceed from his fear of a man rendered formidable by his great abilities and courage. Piqued at this reproach, Edward ordered the warrior to be brought into his presence.—"Mr. Bertrand," said he, "it is pretended that I dare not release you, because I am afraid of you."—"There are people who say as much," replied du Guesclin; "and I think myself highly honoured, by their opinion."—The prince immediately told him to fix his own ransom, when he named the sum of one-hundred-thousand florins; which he said he could easily obtain, from the kings of France and Castile, the duke of Anjou and the pope. The princess of Wales, who was then at Bourdeaux, anxious to see du Guesclin, invited him to dinner; and, as a proof of the esteem she entertained for him, on account of his valour, she offered to pay for him twenty-thousand livres, towards his ransom. Du Guesclin, bending his knee before her, said,—“Madame, I have always thought myself the ugliest knight that the world could produce; but I now find, that I no longer ought to hold myself in so low estimation.”

Hitherto, the Black Prince had been successful, in every enterprise. To oppose him, was only to be defeated. But fortune seemed at length weary of granting him her favours. He had involved himself so much in debt, by his Spanish expedition, that he found it necessary, on his return to Guienne, to impose upon this dutchy a new tax; to which,

many of the nobles refused to submit. They carried their complaints to the king of France, as their superior lord; and, as the renunciation, stipulated in the treaty of Bretigni, had never been made, Charles seized this opportunity, to renew his sovereignty over the English provinces. In this resolution, he was encouraged, by the declining years of king Edward, and the languid condition of his son's health: he therefore cited the prince to appear, in his court, at Paris, and justify his conduct. Young Edward felt indignant at the summons. His military ardour was rekindled. He replied, that he would come to Paris, but, it would be at the head of an army. War was renewed, between France and England; but, with a singular reverse of fortune. On account of the feeble state of the prince's health, he being unable to head his troops, the French, aided by a large body of Scottish auxiliaries, were victorious, in almost every action: by the valour and able conduct of du Guesclin, the affairs of the English, on the continent, were almost entirely ruined; and they were deprived, in a few years, of all their ancient possessions in France, except Bourdeaux and Bayonne; and of all their conquests, except Calais; while a French fleet, under the conduct of John de Vienne, ravaged the English coasts, and burned the towns of Rye and Hastings, Portsmouth, Dartmouth, and Plymouth.

The French had hitherto made little progress in naval affairs. The navy had flourished during the reign of Charlemagne, but was neglected by his successors. The French and the English courted the alliance of the Castilians and Genoese, then deemed the most skilful mariners in Europe; and the squadrons of Genoa fought alternately for both nations. Charles was the first French monarch, of the third race, who formed a plan for a fleet of his own. His vessels were larger than those generally used; though not to be compared, either for size or convenience, with the ships of the present times: indeed, a modern vessel, even of a middle size, could not have entered the best harbour then possessed by the French. The largest vessels were called galleys. They were worked with oars and sails, and supplied with low towers; whence, stones, and other missile weapons, were thrown; and to the prow was fixed a long, thick beam, cased with iron, for the purpose of crushing the sides of the enemy's ships.

1376. Six years after those misfortunes, the prince of Wales died; and his father survived him only about twelve months; being succeeded by the prince's son, Richard II.

1380. The French monarch lived only a few years after the king of England. Having, by the great prudence of his administration, acquired the surname of Wise, he died, in the forty-fourth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reign; leaving his kingdom to a minor son, of the same name.

Charles was a patron of letters, and may be considered as the founder of the Royal Library at Paris. He placed in the Louvre about nine-hundred volumes; a very great number, in that age, when the art of printing was not invented; twenty volumes having composed the whole literary stock, left him by his father. A manuscript was a precious thing; and often bequeathed, as a considerable part of the succession. It was common to see a breviary carefully preserved, in the churches, in an iron cage, for the convenience of priests who had no books of their own: it was placed in a part of the church where there was most light, that several priests might recite their office, at the same time.

Following the example of his father, Charles caused several of the ancient classics to be translated into French. The chief of these were, Suetonius, Valerius Maximus, and Josephus, with a new and more correct translation of Livy. The ethics and politics of Aristotle, were translated by Nicholas Oresmus, and his problems by Evrard de Contis, physician to the king. John of Antioch translated Cicero's Rhetoric, and the bishop of Meaux undertook the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. The Bible was also rendered into the vernacular tongue, during this reign; as were also the institutes of Justinian, and the decretals of the popes.

But, most of these translations were faithless and incorrect. A cotemporary writer represents the original authors, as complaining of the ignorance of their translators; who made them say things of which they never thought. He then adds, "O, how happy would have been the fate of books, had there been no tower of Babel; for then there would have been only one language on the earth, and no word would have stood in need of a translation."

Froissard, who was a poet, as well as an historian, was

the only French writer, of this age, whose works are at once pleasing and instructive: notwithstanding their barbarous style, they are still interesting.

Nor were the painters more skilful than the poets. Their chief merit consisted in representing birds, insects, trees, and flowers, in so brilliant colours, that they still retain their original lustre. When they painted human figures, they exerted all their skill in preserving, with the utmost precision, the dress, and the form of the hair; but they had no idea of expressing the passions, or of giving the smallest degree of animation to the countenance or person. That their meaning, however, might not be mistaken, they had recourse to written descriptions, explanatory of the subject. This curious expedient, long practised in France, originated in the following circumstance:—A friend of Bufamaleo, a painter of Florence, consulting him on the best mode of giving expression to his pictures, was advised, by him, to put words into the mouths of his figures, by means of labels; on which, might be written what he wished them to say. The ignorant artist followed his advice: he met with admirers, as ignorant as himself; his example was soon followed, and this ridiculous invention was imitated in France. Nothing was then seen but pictures by question and answer; and, for greater certainty, there was inscribed, upon every figure, the name of the person whom it was intended to represent.

It is asserted, by some, that the sculptors of this period, were not less ignorant than the painters; but the few statues that yet remain, then executed in France, tend to confirm the report of others, that the art of sculpture had made a rapid progress.

The Gothic style of architecture, so admirably calculated for churches, was still in use, in France. With regard to other edifices, in their construction, neither comfort nor convenience seems to have been consulted. In most private houses, light was admitted through an aperture, defended from the weather only by a wooden shutter, a few sheets of paper, or by canvas. Glass was an object of luxury, reserved for the mansions of the nobility, and the palaces of kings. The latter were buildings of great extent, consisting of two stories, divided into apartments of immense size, with low garrets above. The furniture was in general as

plain as the edifice. The king and all the royal family, except the queen, sat on wooden benches, or joint stools: the queen had chairs made of some pliant wood, embellished with red leather and silk fringe. The state apartments were richly decorated: the beds and alcoves were adorned with cloth of gold and silver, velvet, damask, tapestry, and satin. Glass mirrors were, at this period, very scarce: those generally used were of polished metal. The apartments occupied by the royal family, were covered with tiles or slates; all the other parts of the building were thatched. Adjoining the palace, was a menagerie; in which, were kept wild boars and lions; and aviaries, filled with all kinds of birds. The royal garden contained twenty acres; in which, were fruit-trees of almost every species. The king ordered two-hundred pear and apple-trees, eleven-hundred cherry-trees, and one-hundred-and-fifty plum-trees, to be planted, at one time. These fruits were destined for the tables of the royal family, and the great officers of the crown: the inferior officers were allowed only nuts.

In the kitchen, besides the cooks and their assistants, were four pages; whose business it was to blow the fire constantly, "that the king's soup might not be suffered to cool." A clerk was retained, for buying cloth for the king and queen; which the taylor cut out in the presence of witnesses. But, amongst the most important personages of the household, were the king's fools; of which Charles had two.

Music and dancing have always formed the characteristic amusements of the French nation. At this time, they were held in high esteem, and encouragement was given to all who taught them. No one in France was more passionately fond of music, than Charles. In Paris, as in most great towns, the musicians formed a company, under the direction of a chief, who was called "The king of the fiddlers;" and whose business it was to keep the corps in order, and enforce the observance of their laws.

This period is remarkable, for the introduction of paper-manufactories, into France. The art of clock-making had been greatly neglected, since the famous Gerbert had, about the tenth century, invented clocks that moved by wheels. During the day, the sun, or else a sand-glass, served for a clock; and, in the night, a wax-light, marked, at different

distances, to indicate the hours. The first large clock, introduced into France, was the work of a German, named Henry de Vic, who was invited to Paris, by Charles.

CHARLES VI.

BATTLE OF AGINCOURT.

1380—1422.

BOTH England and France were now under the government of minors; and the jealousies between the three uncles of Charles VI., the dukes of Anjou, Berri, and Burgundy, distracted the affairs of France, even more than the rivalry of the three uncles of Richard II., disordered those of England.

The ceremony of coronation was performed, at Rheims, in presence of the king's uncles, and most of the principal nobility of France. At the feast which succeeded, the dishes were placed upon the table, and the guests waited upon, by nobles arrayed in cloth of gold, and mounted on superb coursers.

1386. Though the people were burthened with taxes, the king made vast preparations for an invasion of England. Fifteen-hundred vessels were accordingly collected, at Sluys, destined for the embarkation of a hundred-thousand men, headed by the king, in person. He had also caused a singular edifice to be constructed, of prodigious magnitude: this was a town of wood, three-thousand paces in diameter, fortified with towers and intrenchments, and capable of containing a whole army. It was intended to serve as a secure retreat for the troops, after they had landed in England; and was so constructed, that the different parts of it might, in a very short space of time, be united. This gigantic apparatus was embarked on board a second fleet. The conquest of England was considered certain. But, being encountered, in the channel, by a storm, the ships were dispersed, and many of them wrecked, upon the English coast; amongst which, were several that had on board parts of the wooden town. A council was then held. It was determined to defer the invasion of England, till the following year; and the court returned to Paris, to form new plans for the ensuing campaign.

As Charles advanced in years, the factions were gradually

composed. His uncle, the duke of Anjou, died; and the king, assuming the reins of government, displayed symptoms of genius and spirit, which revived the drooping hopes of his countrymen.

But this promising state of affairs, was of short duration. The king had lately recovered from a dangerous malady, 1392. at Amiens; in which, he had, as in many instances before, shown strong symptoms of an alarming derangement of intellect. The day on which he began a march for Brittany, he had been more languid and drowsy, than usual. In entering the forest of Mans, at some distance from his troops, and attended by a few followers, a figure, clothed in white, with bare head, and naked feet, suddenly starting from the trees, seized the bridle of his horse, and, in a menacing tone, cried out, “King! proceed not—return—thou art betrayed!”—and as suddenly retreated. Charles gave no other signs of the impression made by this strange circumstance, than by an alteration in his countenance, and a start of horror. On quitting the wood, he advanced to a sandy plain, where the heat was insupportable. His page, who carried his lance, let it fall upon the helmet, borne by another. Aroused by the tinkling noise, he grasped his sword, and assailed his followers; when, having been, with some difficulty, disarmed, and being exhausted, by his efforts, he sunk into a state of torpid insensibility; and, tied down in a cart, was re-conveyed to Amiens.

Although Charles partly recovered from that derangement, yet, he was subject to so frequent relapses, that he grew incapable of governing the kingdom, upon any settled plan.

1393. His first relapse is said to have been caused by the following accident. The queen having married one of her maids of honour to a person of distinction, the nuptials were intended to be celebrated, with great pomp. Amongst other amusements, there was to be a masquerade; a circumstance which induced five young noblemen, to appear as naked savages; and, such was the indelicacy of the times, that the king made one of the party. Their dress, contrived to sit close to their bodies, was of linen, impregnated with resin; which, when hot, had been covered with fur; and the secret was so well preserved, that, when they appeared, they were not known. The dutchess of Berri took hold of the king, and told him she would not let him go, until she

knew who he was. Some of the party now began to dance, when the duke of Orleans, out of levity, making a feint of running a lighted torch against one of the savages, set his combustible habit on fire. The flame was quickly communicated to the rest; and this scene of wanton mirth, was soon changed into sorrow and distress. But, in the midst of their torments, the masks continually cried out, "Save the king! Save the king!"—and the dutchess of Berri, suddenly recollecting that he must be the mask that stood next to her, threw her robes over him, and, wrapping them closely about him, extinguished the flame. One of the masks, by leaping into a cistern of water, saved his life; four were so terribly burned, that they died in two days; and the king was so much affected by the fright, that it occasioned a return of his disorder, which attacked him generally four or five times every year, during the remainder of his life.

Even at this remote period, we cannot avoid sympathizing with this unhappy prince. Though environed by a gay and splendid court, this wretched victim of insanity, and also his children, were often suffered to want the common necessities of life: and, in the violent paroxysms of his disorder, so shamefully was he neglected, as to be reduced to situations the most humiliating, as well as the most revolting to human nature.

The administration now fell into the hands of the dukes of Berri and Burgundy; who excluded the duke of Orleans, the king's brother, on account of his youth, from any share in the government. The case, however, was very different, with regard to the dutchess of Orleans. Young, beautiful, and insinuating, she governed the king, at her pleasure. In the time of his malady, he recognised no one else, not even the queen. Hence, it was rumoured, by the dutchess of Burgundy, that she had bewitched the king; and, to heighten the odium, it was insinuated, that the duke of Orleans had bewitched the queen.

The duke of Burgundy, besides a vast domain, had the support of his two brothers, whose property was considerable, and power extensive. He was father-in-law to the heir apparent; had contracted his eldest son, the count of Charolois, to a daughter of the king; and, to strengthen his connexion with the reigning family, he had concluded a marriage between the duke of Touraine, second son of Charles, and his own niece, Jaqueline of Bavaria.

1405. On the death of Philip, duke of Burgundy, his son John disputed the administration with the duke of Orleans. But, by the instrumentality of hired ruffians, the former procured his rival to be assassinated, in the streets of Paris. The commission of this horrid crime, rendered the war implacable between the parties; and seemed to stop every avenue to accommodation and peace. The princes of the blood, combining with the young duke of Orleans and his brothers, made violent war upon the duke of Burgundy; and the unhappy king, seized sometimes by one party, and sometimes by the other, transferred alternately, to each, an appearance of the royal sanction to their acts.

France now lay at the mercy of her neighbours. There was one power that did not view these disorders with indifference. The advantage which might be taken of them, was easily perceived in England. Richard II., the successor of Edward III., was an indolent and dissipated prince; Henry IV., the usurper of his throne, prevented, by secret conspiracies and open rebellions, in an unpopular reign of thirteen years, from attempting any foreign enterprise, had alternately assisted, with troops, the contending factions, by which France had been distracted. The same unpopularity did not attend his son. Impelled by the vigour of youth, and the ardour of ambition, and reviving the claim to the French crown, which had been renounced by Edward, in the peace of Bretigni, Henry V. resolved to carry war into the very heart of France.

1415. Henry landed near Harfleur, in Normandy, with thirty-thousand men, chiefly archers. He immediately invested this place, and took it, by storm, after a siege of five weeks. Fatigue, however, and the unusual heat of the weather, had so much wasted and enfeebled the English army, that he could enter upon no other enterprise; and he even sent back his transports, and a considerable part of his army, to England. Above fifty-thousand were already assembled, in Normandy, to oppose him, under the constable d'Albert; a force, if rightly managed, sufficient either to defeat the invaders in the open field, or to harass and totally destroy them, on their march. Henry, therefore, offered to sacrifice his conquest of Harfleur, for a safe passage to Calais; but, his proposal being rejected, he determined to force his way, and what he could not obtain by treaty, to accomplish by his valour.

When he approached the Somme, he saw bodies of men, on the opposite banks, ready to dispute his passage. His provisions were intercepted, his soldiers languished under sickness and fatigue—his situation was altogether desperate. But despair is often a substitute for hope. In this extremity, he was so fortunate as to seize an unguarded ford, near St. Quintin; over which, he safely carried his army, and then bent his march towards Calais; the much desired goal of his safety and repose. But his escape was not yet secured. He was still exposed to imminent danger, from the French army, drawn up on the plains of Agincourt; and posted in such a manner, that it was impossible for him to proceed, without a battle.

To a commander of less bravery than Henry, the prospect now before him, would have been terrific. The English army, at this time, consisted of only fifteen-thousand men; one-half the number that he had disembarked. The French consisted of sixty-thousand; being four times more numerous, than the English; headed by the dauphin, and all the princes of the royal blood. Henry's situation resembled that of Edward III., at Crecy, and of the Black Prince, at Poitiers; and he observed the same prudent conduct, that had given success to those illustrious commanders. He drew up his army upon a narrow ground, between two woods, which guarded his flanks; and, in that posture, he firmly awaited the attack.

He rode along the lines, mounted on a white charger, with a golden crown affixed to his helmet. Four royal banners were displayed before him; and he was followed by several led-horses, richly caparisoned, and surrounded by the chief officers of his court and army. He strove to animate his troops. He told them, that the French had determined to cut three fingers off the right hand, of every prisoner that they should take; and he declared, that every soldier in his army, who, on that day, conducted himself with gallantry, should thenceforth be deemed a gentleman, and enjoy the privilege of wearing a coat-of-arms. The French archers, on horseback, and the men at arms, advanced precipitately upon the English archers; who had fixed palisades in their front, and safely plied their assailants, from behind that defence, with a shower of arrows, that nothing could resist.

While the first line of the English were retiring, to re-

cover their breath, behind the second, where Henry commanded in person, the duke of Alençon advanced, with the second division of the French, in hopes of restoring the battle. This shock was more bloody than the first, and victory long remained doubtful. Eighteen French knights, who had entered into a solemn compact to take the English monarch, either dead or alive, forced their way through the ranks, and approached his person. One of them aimed a blow at his head, with a battle-axe; which, though it did not pierce his helmet, for a while deprived him of his senses. His danger was extreme. He must probably have fallen a victim to these associates, but for the generous spirit of David Gam, and two other Welsh officers; who, rushing between him and his assailants, sacrificed their lives to the safety of their king. When he recovered from the blow, perceiving the three gallant soldiers, to whom he was indebted for his preservation, expiring at his feet, he knighted them, as they lay on the field of battle. The French knights were all killed: and Henry rushed into the midst of the enemy, attended by his brother, the duke of Gloucester, who fought by his side. They continued to advance, with rapidity, and were soon separated from their troops. The duke of Gloucester was felled to the ground, by the stroke of a mace; and Henry, covering him with his shield, sustained the shock of his numerous assailants, until the duke of York arrived, to his relief; when, Gloucester being conveyed from the field, the king renewed the attack, and his troops bore down all before them.

The clay soil, moistened with rain, proved another impediment to the charge of the French cavalry. Its force was thereby broken. The wounded men and horses discomposed their ranks; the narrow compass, in which they were pent, prevented them from recovering any order; the whole army was a scene of route and confusion, terror and dismay, when Henry ordered his archers to advance. They accordingly fell, with their battle-axes, upon the French, and hewed them to pieces, without obstruction. The field was soon covered, with killed and wounded, dismounted and overthrown.

Few victories were ever more complete, than this of Agincourt. The loss of the English, in killed, did not exceed one-hundred men—that of the French was enormous. The constable d'Albert, and seven princes of the blood, were

slain; five princes were taken prisoners, with fourteen-thousand persons, of different ranks, and above ten-thousand French were left dead upon the field.

The three great battles of Crecy, Poitiers, and Agincourt, bear a singular resemblance to each other. There appear, in all, the same temerity in the English princes; the same imprudent conduct, in the French. The immediate consequences, too, of these signal victories, were similar. Instead of pushing the French with vigour, and taking advantage of their consternation, the victors seem to have relaxed their efforts, and allowed the enemy leisure to recover strength. Henry intermitted not his march a moment, after the battle of Agincourt. He carried his prisoners to Calais, and thence to England; he even concluded a truce with the vanquished; and it was not until after an interval of two years, that any body of English troops appeared again in France.

The cause, however, of those frequent interruptions to hostilities, is not very difficult to discover. They were the effect, rather of necessity, than choice. All the European princes, in that age, being poor, their military operations were mere incursions, without any settled plan, or continuous design.

But, during this intermission of attacks from England, France was exposed to all the furies of civil war. The several parties became daily more enraged against each other, and every spark of patriotism seemed extinct.

1418. Incited by the duke of Burgundy, the populace forced open the city prisons, murdered the gaolers and guards, made the prisoners walk out, one by one, and massacred them all, as they passed, without distinction of rank, age, or sex. The grand Chatalet made a vigorous resistance. Its inhabitants ascended the towers, and attempted to repel the attacks of the mob; exhibiting, for some time, the anomalous sight of prisoners sustaining a siege: the building, however, having at length been fired, in different parts, they were compelled to surrender. The rabble then forced them to throw themselves from the summit of the towers, into the streets below, on pikes which they held to receive them. In the court yard of the palace, and in the entrance of the gates of Paris, the mob stood up to their ancles in human blood!

While the nation was thus laying suicidal hands upon

itself, and was so ill prepared to resist a foreign enemy. Henry appeared, in Normandy, at the head of forty-thousand men; and made himself master of Falaise and Cherbourg, Caën, Evreux, and Rouen. The inhabitants of the latter place, made a most obstinate resistance. Enraged at the prolongation of the siege, Henry threatened them with extermination, unless they speedily surrendered. He ordered gibbets to be erected, around the walls of the city, to which he suspended all the prisoners he had taken. Fifty-thousand of the inhabitants had already perished. Twelve-thousand persons, of both sexes, were dismissed from the town, as useless consumers of human food: but the besiegers refused them a passage through their camp, and drove them back, into the ditches; where they were exposed to the weather, to hunger and thirst, and to the balls and arrows of the enemy, as well as to the missiles of their friends. Baskets were let down, from the top of the walls, to receive several new-born infants, to whom their mothers had given birth, in the ditch; which, as soon as baptized, were returned, to their expiring parents, lest their stay might increase the consumption of provisions. Still, the people of Rouen did not lose courage. They were excited to this spirited resistance, by Alain Blanchard. Under his conduct, ten-thousand of the citizens agreed to make a desperate sally: a part of them had already reached the enemy's camp, when the bridge suddenly gave way—the perfidious governor having previously caused the timber, by which it was supported, to be sawed nearly through—and let all those who were on it, fall into the river. But, even treachery did not force them to surrender; and Henry, perceiving their desperate resolution, allowed them an honourable capitulation.

Notwithstanding these advantages, Henry made offers of peace, to both parties; to the queen and the duke of Burgundy, on the one hand—who, having possession of the king's person, carried the appearance of legal authority—and to the dauphin, on the other; who, being the undoubted heir of the monarchy, was adhered to, by every one that regarded the true interest of his country. After many negotiations, Henry proposed to the queen and the duke of Burgundy, to make peace with them, to espouse the princess Catherine, daughter of Charles VI.; and to accept of all the provinces ceded to Edward III., by the treaty of Bretigni,

1419. with the addition of Normandy, in full and entire sovereignty. These terms were not rejected. There remained only some circumstances to be adjusted; but, in this interval, the duke of Burgundy secretly finished a treaty with the dauphin; and these two princes agreed to share the authority, during king Charles's life; and to unite their arms, in expelling foreign enemies.

This alliance, which seemed to cut off from Henry all hopes of further success, proved, in the issue, the most favourable event that could have happened for his pretensions. The two princes agreed to an interview, in order to concert the means of rendering effectual their common attack upon the English; but, how they could venture on this conference, seemed difficult to contrive. The assassination perpetrated by the duke of Burgundy, and, still more, his open avowal of the deed, tended to dissolve all the bands of civil society; and even men of honour, might deem it just, to retaliate upon the author. The duke, therefore, agreed to all the contrivances, for mutual security, proposed by the ministers of the dauphin. They came to Montreuil: the duke lodged in the castle; the dauphin, in the town; which was divided from the castle, by the river Yonne. The bridge between them was chosen for the place of interview. Two rails were drawn across the bridge: the gates, on each side, were guarded; one by the officers of the dauphin, the other by those of the duke. The princes were to enter the intermediate space, by the opposite gates, each accompanied by ten persons. But no precautions are sufficient, where the principles of honour are abandoned. The dauphin's attendants were zealous partisans of the house of Orleans; and they determined to seize the opportunity of revenging the murder of the prince. They no sooner entered within the rails, than they drew their swords, and attacked the duke of Burgundy: his friends, being astonished, made no defence; and they all either shared his fate, or were taken prisoners, by the retinue of the dauphin.

The extreme youth of this prince, made it doubtful, whether he had been admitted into the secret of the intended murder: but, as it was committed within his view, by his most intimate friends, the blame of the perfidious action, fell entirely upon him.

The whole state of affairs was changed, by that unexpected incident. The citizens of Paris, passionately devoted to the

family of Burgundy, were excited to the highest fury, against the dauphin. But, above all, Philip, count of Charolois, now duke of Burgundy, thought himself bound, by every tie of honour and of duty, to revenge the murder of his father. Every consideration of national interest, was buried in oblivion. The subjection to a foreign enemy, the expulsion of the lawful heir, the degradation of the kingdom, appeared but small evils, if they led to the gratification of revenge. A treaty was concluded, by the duke, with the king of England, at Troyes. Through the whole negotiation, Henry's will seemed to be a law: nothing was attended to, but his advantage. The principal articles of the treaty, were, that Henry should espouse the princess Catherine, daughter of the French king: that Charles, during his life, should enjoy the title and dignity of king of France; that Henry should be acknowledged heir of the monarchy, and be intrusted with the present administration of the government: that the kingdom should descend to his heirs general: that France and England should for ever be united under one king: and that Henry should join his forces with those of king Charles and the duke of Burgundy, in order to subdue the adherents of Charles, the "pretended" dauphin.

Such, was the tenor of this famous treaty; acceded to, through animosity; to be carried into execution, by the sword. There was a palpable deficiency in Henry's claim to the crown of France, which no art could palliate. Besides the insuperable objection, to which Edward the Third's pretensions were exposed, Henry was not the heir of that monarch. If female succession were even admitted, the right had devolved upon the earl of Marche; for Henry enjoyed the throne of England, by the usurpation of his father.

It behooved Henry to take the tide of victory at the flow; to allow men no time for reason or reflection. In a few days after the treaty was signed, he espoused the princess Catherine, carried his father-in-law to Paris, took possession of that capital, obtained from the parliament a ratification of the treaty, and turned his arms, with success, against the adherents of the dauphin. Sens, Montereau, and Melun, were soon subdued; and, being constrained to return to England, for supplies, he left his uncle, the duke of Exeter, governor of Paris.

A reverse of fortune was suffered, during Henry's absence. In a battle, fought at Baugé, a division of his army was defeated, and his uncle, the duke of Clarence, killed. But his arrival in France, with a reinforcement of twenty-eight-thousand men, was more than sufficient to repair the loss. He made himself master of Dreux, without a blow; and of Meaux, after a siege of eight months. The governor of the latter was brave; but he was also cruel. He was accustomed to hang all the English and Burgundians, who fell into his hands; and Henry, in retaliation of his barbarity, ordered him to be hung, on the same tree, that he had made the instrument of his savage executions.

1422. The dauphin was at length chased beyond the Loire, and his party threatened with total destruction; and, to fill the measure of Henry's good fortune, his queen became the mother of a son; who was called by his father's name, and regarded, both at Paris, and at London, as the future heir of both the kingdoms.

To an ambitious mind, the situation of the king of England was most glorious. Like Alexander, he had subdued with gigantic strides; and, like Cæsar, he had only shown himself, and conquered. But, as was the fate of both those ancient heroes, his march was suddenly arrested. He had now reached the highest step, in his ascent to worldly honour; and all his dazzling prospects were withdrawn, by the hand of death. He was seized with a disorder, which the surgeons had not then skill enough to cure; and expired, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the tenth of his reign.

He left the regency of France to his eldest brother, the duke of Bedford; that of England, to his youngest, the duke of Exeter; and the care of his son's person, to the earl of Warwick.

In less than two months after the death of Henry, Charles VI. terminated his unhappy life; in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the forty-third of one of the most calamitous reigns ever experienced by France.

The same wretchedness that marked his life, accompanied him to the tomb. Not one prince of the Gallic line, was seen to follow his last obsequies; and, to defray the expenses of his funeral honours, the parliament ordained that his personal effects should be sold; a signal instance of disloyalty and neglect! Attended by the duke of Bedford, his remains were deposited, with ostentatious pomp, in the royal sepul-

chre of St. Dennis; and, at the close of the ceremonial rites, a herald, having exhorted all present to pray for the repose of his soul, cried aloud, “Long live Henry of Lancaster, king of France and of England!”

CHARLES VII.

MAID OF ORLEANS.

1422—1461.

Charles, on the death of his father, was in his twenty-sixth year; and, although Henry VI. of England, then only nine months old, had been proclaimed king of France, at the funeral, yet the dauphin resolved to assert his claim to the throne. But, when the state of their affairs was relatively examined, with a superficial eye, every advantage seemed on the side of Henry; and the total expulsion of Charles appeared an event, which might naturally be expected, from the superior power of his rival. Though Henry was yet in his infancy, the duke of Bedford, who had been appointed regent, by Henry V., was the most accomplished prince of the age; distinguished, alike, for his experience and prudence, generosity and valour. The whole power of England was at his command. He was seconded by the most renowned generals of Europe—the earls of Somerset and Warwick; Salisbury, Suffolk, and Arundel; Sir John Talbot, and Sir John Fastolfe: and, besides Guienne, the ancient inheritance of England, he was master of the capital, and of all the northern provinces of France; which were best enabled to furnish him with supplies, both of men and money, and to assist and support his English force.

But Charles, also, was possessed of some advantages, which promised him success. He was the true and undoubted heir to the throne of France. All men who desired the independence of their country, looked to him, as their only refuge; and, though most of the princes of the blood, were, since the battle of Agincourt, detained prisoners, in England, the inhabitants of their demesnes, their friends and vassals, all declared a zealous attachment to the king.

Charles himself was of a character, well calculated to become the object of this benevolent sentiment. He was a prince of a most friendly and benign disposition, of easy and

familiar manners, and of a just and sound, though not of a very vigorous understanding.

New succours came daily over from Scotland, and filled the armies of the French king. The earl of Douglas conducted a reinforcement of five-thousand men; and it was justly to be dreaded, by the duke of Bedford, that the Scots, by commencing open hostilities in the north of England, would occasion a considerable diversion of the English power, and ease Charles, in some measure, of that load, by which he was, at present, so grievously oppressed.

1423. Though the chief seat of Charles's strength, lay in the southern provinces, beyond the Loire; his party was in possession also of some fortresses in the north, and even in the neighbourhood of Paris; and it behoved the duke of Bedford first to clear these countries of his enemy, before he thought of more distant conquests. The castle of Dorsoy was taken by him, after a siege of six weeks; nor was it long, until that of Noyelle, and the towns of Ruë, Pont-sur-Seine, Vertus, Montaign, Gaillon, La Charité, Ivri, and Verneuïl, underwent the same fate.

The engagement at Verneuïl, was most bloody and destructive. Having collected an army of fourteen-thousand men, one half of whom were Scots, Charles sent them thither, under the command of the earl of Buchan, constable of France, attended by his countryman, the earl of Douglas, the duke of Alençon, the mareschal de la Fayette, the count of Aumale, and the viscount of Narbonne. The numbers were nearly equal, in this rencounter. The constable drew up his forces under the walls of Verneuïl, resolved to await the enemy's attack. But the impatience of Narbonne, who broke his ranks, and obliged the whole line to follow him, in hurry and confusion, was the cause of his misfortune. The English archers, fixing their palisades before them, according to their usual custom, sent a volley of arrows, into the thickest of the French army; and, though beaten from their ground, and obliged to take shelter amongst the baggage, they soon rallied, and continued to make great slaughter amongst their opponents. The duke of Bedford, in the mean time, made a serious impression upon the French, chased them off the field, and rendered the victory complete. The constable himself was slain, with the earl of Douglas and his son, and many other considerable nobility. The duke of Alençon, the mareschal de la Fayette, the lords of

Gaucour and Mortemar, were taken prisoners. There fell about four-thousand of the French, and sixteen-hundred of the English; a loss so unusual, on the side of the victors, that the duke of Bedford prohibited all rejoicings, for his success.

The condition of the king of France appeared now almost desperate. He had lost the flower of his army, and the bravest of his nobles. He had no resource, either for recruiting or maintaining his troops. He wanted money even for his personal subsistence. The whole amount in his treasury, was only four crowns. Though all parade of a court was banished, it was with difficulty he could obtain the plainest necessaries for his table; and every day brought him intelligence of some new misfortune.

1428. Such, was the respective condition of the parties:—one elate with victory; the other enfeebled by defeat.

But success did not relax the efforts of the duke of Bedford. He resolved on an undertaking, which, if accomplished, would decidedly turn the balance, and prepare the way for the final conquest of France. This was, to gain possession of the city of Orleans. Intending to penetrate into the south of France, it was necessary to begin with this place; now become the most important in the kingdom. He intrusted the command of this enterprise to the earl of Salisbury; who had lately arrived, from England, with six-thousand men. The lord of Gaucour, a brave and experienced captain, was appointed governor of Orleans, by Charles; and the eyes of all Europe were directed towards the interesting scene.

Salisbury having been killed, by a cannon ball, the command devolved upon the earl of Suffolk. Though he had several pieces of artillery in his camp, (and this is the first siege in Europe, in which cannon were found to be important) the art of engineering was hitherto so imperfect, that he trusted rather to famine, than to force. It was every day more closely invested, by the English. Great scarcity was already felt. Charles not only looked upon the city, as lost, but entertained a very dismal prospect of the general state of his affairs. He talked of retiring into Languedoc and Dauphiny; and of defending himself, as long as possible, in those distant provinces. But the design was vehemently opposed, by Mary of Anjou, his queen. His mistress, too,

the fair Agnes Sorrell, who (strange as it may appear) lived in perfect amity with the queen, seconded all her remonstrances; and threatened, that, if he thus ingloriously threw away the sceptre of France, she would seek, in the court of England, a fortune more correspondent to her wishes. The courage, which could not be excited by ambition, was roused, in the breast of Charles, by love. He resolved to dispute every inch of ground; and, rather than fly to a distant province, to perish honourably amongst his friends; when relief was brought to him, by a female of a very different character; who caused one of the most singular revolutions that history records.

1429. On the borders of Lorraine, in a small village, called Domremi, there lived a country girl, of twenty-seven years of age, named Joan d'Arc; who was a servant in a small inn, had been accustomed to tend the horses of the guests, to ride them, without a saddle, to the watering place, and to perform other duties, which, in inns of a larger class, generally fall to the share of men. The genius of this girl was now excited. The present situation of France, could not be otherwise than interesting, even to persons of the lowest rank, and became a frequent subject of conversation. Joan had been taught to hold in detestation the English name; and the ravages of war, extended even to her father's cottage, increased this abhorrence. The gay and generous character of Charles, had rendered him the hero of the female sex. She was seized with a wild desire to relieve her sovereign, from his calamitous distress. Her inexperienced mind, employed day and night upon this favourite object, mistook the impulses of a tender passion, for heavenly inspiration; and she fancied that she was exhorted, in visions of the night, to re-establish the throne of France. She went to Vaucouleurs, informed the governor of her inspiration and intention; and conjured him not to neglect the voice of God, of which she was the organ, but to second her heavenly revelations. The governor was little attentive to her, at first. She renewed her solicitation. She waited upon him daily; and, at each successive visit, her importunity was increased. He adopted, at length, the scheme of Joan, gave her some attendants, and accompanied her to the French court, then resident at Chinon.

Not the marvellous alone, but the miraculous, also, is attached to the history of this extraordinary enterprise. It is

pretended, that Joan, immediately on her admission, knew the king, though she had never seen him before, and though he purposely kept himself in the crowd of courtiers, and had laid aside every thing in his dress, which might distinguish him: that she offered him, in the name of the supreme Creator, to raise the siege of Orleans, and conduct him to Rheims, to be there crowned; and, on his expressing some doubts of her mission, revealed to him a secret, which was unknown to every person except himself, and which nothing but a heavenly inspiration could have discovered to her; and that she demanded, as the instrument of her future victories, a particular sword, kept in the church of St. Catherine, of Fierbois; and which, though she had never seen it, she described, by all its marks, and by the place where it had long lain neglected.

An assembly of grave divines examined Joan's mission, and pronounced it to be undoubted. Hope now succeeded to despair: Joan was dressed in a complete suit of armour, mounted upon a prancing charger, and shown to the admiring people. The dexterity with which she reined her steed, though acquired in her former occupation, as an ostler, was regarded as an additional proof of her heavenly mission; and she was hailed, by the gazing multitude, with enthusiastic joy. Her real vocation was even denied. She was no longer the servant of an inn. She was converted into a shepherdess; and, to render her still more interesting, ten years were taken from her age.

The illusion was now complete. It was determined to try her force against the enemy. She was sent to Blois, where a large convoy was preparing, for the supply of Orleans; and an army of ten-thousand men had assembled, as an escort. Before marching, she ordered all the soldiers to confess their sins, and banished from the camp all women of bad fame. As she approached the Loire, a sally April 29th. was made, by the garrison, on the side of Beausse, (which was the most strongly guarded, by the English) to prevent the besiegers from sending any detachments to the other side, by which the convoy was designed to enter: the provisions were peaceably embarked, in boats, which the inhabitants of Orleans had sent across, to receive them: Joan covered, with her troops, the embarkation: Suffolk did not venture to attack her; and the French general re-conducted the escorting army, in safety, to Blois.

Under Joan's sacred influence, the garrison now believed themselves invincible. Perceiving so wonderful an alteration, both in friends and foes, the count of Dunois (a natural son of the duke of Orleans) consented that the next convoy, which was expected in a few days, should, in conformity with her desire, enter by the side of Beausse.—The convoy approaches; the besiegers offer no obstruction; the wagons and soldiers pass, without interruption, through the enemy's redoubts: a dead silence and astonishment prevail throughout those troops, recently so animated by success, and eager for the combat!

The Maid of Orleans (by which name, this extraordinary female is mostly known) called aloud, that the garrison should remain no longer on the defensive. The generals seconded her ardour; an attack was made upon one redoubt, which proved successful: all the English, who defended the intrenchments, were slain, or taken prisoners; and sir John Talbot himself, who had drawn together, from the other redoubts, some troops, for their relief, dared not appear in the open field.

The forts, at the other side of the river, were at length assailed, by the besieged. In one attack, the French were repulsed; the Maid was left almost alone, was obliged to retreat, and join the runaways: but, displaying her sacred standard, and animating them with her countenance, her gestures, and exhortations, she rallied the broken troops, and overpowered the English, in their intrenchments. In the attack of another fort, she was wounded, in the neck, with an arrow: she retreated, for a moment, behind the assailants, pulled out the arrow, with her own hands, had the wound quickly dressed, and hastily returned, to head the troops, and plant her victorious banner upon the English ramparts.

In these different actions, the enemy had lost six-thousand men. Suffolk raised the siege of Orleans, and retreated. Charles despatched six-thousand men, to attack Jergeau, whither Suffolk had retired, with a division of his army. The siege lasted ten days, and the place was obstinately defended. Her wonted intrepidity was displayed, by Joan. She descended into the fosse, in leading the attack; and there received a blow, on the head, with a stone, by which she was beaten to the ground: but she soon recovered, and rendered the assault successful. Suffolk was constrained to yield himself a prisoner, to a

Frenchman, named Renaud: but, before he submitted, he asked his adversary, whether he was a knight. Renaud replied, that he had not yet attained that honour.—“Then, I make you one,” replied Suffolk: upon which, he gave him a blow with his sword, which dubbed him one of that fraternity, and immediately surrendered.

Equally unsuccessful, were the enemy, in other quarters. The remainder of the English army, commanded by Fastolfe, Scales, and Talbot, thought of nothing but retreating, as soon as possible, into a place of safety. The vanguard of the French attacked their rear, at the village of Patay. The battle lasted not a moment. The English were discomfited, and fled. The brave Fastolfe himself showed the example of flight, to his troops; and the order of the garter was taken from him, as a punishment for this instance of cowardice. Two thousand men were killed, in this action, and both Talbot and Scales taken prisoners.

The sir John Fastolfe, mentioned here, is the same person that is represented, in the plays of Shakespeare, as the facetious *Falstaff*; this misfortune having, it is thought, given occasion to that inimitable dramatist, to satirize him, as a braggart.

The Maid had accomplished one part of her promise to the French king—the raising of the siege of Orleans. The crowning of him, at Rheims, was the other; and this she now most ardently proposed to execute. Charles did not resist her wishes. Accompanied by this enthusiastic female, he set out for Rheims, at the head of twelve-thousand men; every town opening its gates to him, as he passed. The ceremony of his coronation was there performed; and he was anointed, with the holy oil, brought, by a pigeon, from heaven, (so write the monkish historians) on the first establishment of the French monarchy, by Clovis. The Maid of Orleans stood by his side, in complete armour, displaying her sacred banner, which had so often terrified his enemies; and the people, on viewing such a complication of wonders, shouted with tumultuous joy.

1430. The ardour of the English, for foreign conquests, was now much abated, by reflection. No money could be obtained, by the duke of Bedford, during his greatest distress; and men enlisted slowly under his standard, or soon deserted, by reason of the wonderful accounts which had reached England, of the sorcery and magic, and diabo-

lical power of the Maid of Orleans. The affairs of the English, in France, declined, with an accelerating course. The extraordinary talents of the regent, were never so severely tried. The bringing over of young Henry, from London, and having him crowned king of France, at Paris, produced a very trifling effect: but he expected more benefit from an accident, which placed in his hands the author of all his calamities. The Maid of Orleans was taken prisoner, when making a sally, at Compeigne; was tried for sorcery and magic, and sentenced to perpetual confinement, and to be fed, during life, upon bread and water.

1431. Both the French and English might now have been convinced, that the opinion of divine influence, which had so much encouraged the one, and depressed the other, was without foundation. But the barbarous vengeance of Joan's enemies, was not yet satisfied. The first night after she was re-conducted to the dungeon which she had hitherto occupied, her guards took her female dress off her bed, and put her male apparel, which she had relinquished, in its place. In the morning, she earnestly entreated that the clothes worn by her on the preceding day, might be restored: but this request having been denied, she was compelled to clothe herself again in the forbidden garment. Thus attired, she was caught by her insidious enemies: her imputed fault was interpreted to be a relapse into heresy. No recantation could now suffice: no pardon could be granted; and she was burned, in the market-place, at Rouen!

Such was the cruel death of this heroic female: whose unrivalled self-devotion, has reared a monument, in the hearts of Frenchmen, more durable than graven brass—more vivid than the historic page.

For the conduct of her persecutors, no excuse can be found. Nor can Charles himself escape the severest reprehension. An offer to exchange, or a threat to retaliate upon some of the many prisoners of distinction, whom he had, at this period, in his power, must have insured the release, or, at least, have prevented the execution of that generous Maid; to whom, he was chiefly indebted for the preservation of his honour, and the safety of his kingdom.

Far from being advanced, by this execution, the affairs of the English went more and more to decay. The great abilities of the regent, were unable to resist the strong inclination which had seized the French, to return to their

allegiance, under their rightful sovereign. But the chief detriment sustained by him, was in the death of his dutchess; who had hitherto preserved some appearance of friendship between him and her brother, the duke of Burgundy; and his marriage, soon afterwards, with Jacqueline of Luxembourg, was the beginning of a breach between them. The duke of Burgundy had, for some years, appeared to relent, in his animosity against Charles, and to hearken to a denial, made by the king, of the murder of his father. The more to gratify the pride of that nobleman, he had banished, from his presence, all those concerned in that assassination; and had offered to make every other atonement that could be required; and the duke determined to unite himself to the royal family of France, from which his own was descended.

1435. For this purpose, a congress was held, at Arras, under the mediation of the pope, and the council of Basle. Nothing, however, was concluded, on the part of England. The mediators having declared the offers of Charles very moderate, the English abassadors withdrew.

The duke sent a herald to England, to notify his accession to the treaty of Arras, and his departure from that of Troye. The council was much incensed. They received the herald with great coldness; and even assigned him a lodging in the house of a shoemaker, by way of insult. Soon afterwards, the duke of Bedford died, at Rouen; and was succeeded, in the regency, by the duke of York. Isabella, queen of France, had died a short time before; despised by the English, and detested by the French. The chief actors in the bloody drama, had now made their exit from the stage; and the curtain, which marked its close, was about to drop. Paris was betrayed to the French army; and thus, after an interval of fifteen years, was restored to the domination of its king. All the fields, in the north of France, which was the seat of war, had been laid waste, and ceased to be furrowed by the plough: the cities were gradually depopulating; and both parties, weary of destruction, suspended hostilities, by a truce. Six years afterwards, the war was renewed, and the nation aroused by the clash of arms. Normandy was soon wholly subdued by the French: Guienne, also, which had remained united to England since the accession of Henry II., was, after a period of three centuries, incorporated with the monarchy of France; and the

English were at length expelled from all their continental dominions, except Calais.

1453. No sooner had Charles found himself in quiet possession of France, than he devoted himself to the cares of government; and endeavoured to repair the ravages of war, by promoting the arts of peace. Instead of the troops required from the vassals of the crown, he established a regular army, and levied a tax, for its support. Besides this army, each village maintained a free archer, who was exempted from the king's tax; and it was in consequence of this exemption, otherwise peculiar to the nobility, that so great a number of persons soon claimed the title of gentlemen, both by name and arms.

These politic measures were followed by the most important result. No longer summoned to the field, the possessors of fiefs had afterwards no pretence for arming their followers, to disturb the peace of the state: thus, the feudal system rapidly declined, in France; and Charles beheld himself at the head of one of the largest and best regulated kingdoms of Europe.

1461. But all the wisdom and generosity of this monarch, could not secure to him that happiness, which he endeavoured to procure for his subjects. His son Louis revolted, and brought him to an untimely grave. Being informed that this prince intended to destroy him, by poison, he long abstained from food; and literally died of hunger, that his unnatural son might not be guilty of parricide, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and thirty-ninth of a most harassing reign.

As soon as tranquillity had been restored to the kingdom, the taste for literature revived. On the death of Charles VII., the rector of the University of Paris, offered to attend the funeral with twenty-five-thousand students.

LOUIS XI.

1461—1483.

If Louis be celebrated as a politician, he is equally detested, as a man. Rarely, in modern times, does history present a character so odious. To find a parallel, we must search amongst the very worst of the Roman emperors; and place him by the side of Tiberius and Nero, Caligula and

Caracalla; whose vices and monstrous cruelties, he seems to have adopted, as his own.

His leading object, in politics, was, to aggrandize the monarchy, by depressing the power of the nobles, and uniting the great fiefs to the crown. To aid in its accomplishment, he dismissed the able and honest ministers of his father; and selected, from the lowest classes of the people, men of a disposition similar to his own—subtle, deceitful and cruel; fit servants for so tyrannical a master. The nobles did not continue passive spectators of this attempt. They entered into an association, and flew to arms. The king, also, assembled troops, and prepared to face them. A battle was fought, which decided nothing: and, as Louis was disposed rather to negotiate, than fight, a peace was concluded, on terms advantageous to the nobles; but which the perfidious tyrant never intended to fulfil.

During this war, a custom prevailed, of which we find no example, at any earlier period of the French history. The prisoners were exposed to public sale. They were purchased with a view to make a profit by their ransom; and such of the unfortunate victims as were unable to buy their redemption, were hanged.

1467. Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, was succeeded, in his extensive dominions, by the count of Charolois; now known by the title of Charles the Bold. Charles had conceived an antipathy to Louis; and, what more alarmed the king, he had a most intimate knowledge of his disposition. Both parties assembled forces; but Louis, having little inclination for battle, agreed to indemnify the duke, for the expenses of the campaign, and appointed an interview at Peronne, in Picardy, then in possession of Charles. Louis went to the place of meeting, accompanied by a few noblemen and domestics, and escorted by only eighty archers of the Scotch guard, and sixty horse; having dismissed the rest of his guards; hoping, by this show of confidence, to deceive the duke: and, to forward the negotiation, by the distraction of his opponent, he even commanded some of his emissaries to enter Liege, a town under the dominion of the duke, and persuade the inhabitants to revolt. He was disappointed, however, in his aim. When intelligence arrived, at Peronne, that the people of Liege had broken out into open rebellion, at the in-

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stigation of the French, and had massacred the garrison, Charles ordered the king to be confined in the castle; where he kept him shut up, for three days, in a damp and horrid dungeon. The sight of the tower of Peronne made him shudder: it was the very place, in which the unhappy Charles the Simple had been confined, by Herbert, count of Vermandois. The duke prescribed such terms, as he thought proper, to a prince whose liberty and life were in his power. Louis was constrained to march with him to Leige, and to aid in the reduction of the very place, which he had incited to revolt.

During his whole life, he was ashamed of this imprudence. To the Parisians, a people fond of raillery, it afforded matter of triumph. They taught their jays and magpies to repeat “Peronne! Peronne!”: but the incensed monarch ordered all these insulting prattlers to be killed.

1475. Edward IV., of England, was engaged, as an ally of the duke of Burgundy, against France. When every point in dispute had been amicably adjusted, an interview took place, between the two monarchs, on a bridge over the Somme, at Pequigni, near Amiens; in the centre of which, a strong barrier was erected, and where such other precautions were adopted, as were justified by the treacherous spirit of the times. The extreme eagerness of Louis, to acquire the confidence and friendship of the English, induced him to make some imprudent advances, which afterwards cost him no small trouble, to evade. He told Edward, that he should be glad to be favoured with a visit from him, at Paris; where he would introduce him to the beauties of that metropolis: and, should any offences, requiring pardon, be the consequence, he would assign him the cardinal de Bourbon, for a confessor; who would not fail to give him absolution. This hint made a deeper impression, than Louis intended. Lord Howard, who accompanied him on his return to Amiens, told him, in confidence, that, if he were so disposed, it would not be impossible to persuade Edward to take a journey with him to Paris; where they might indulge themselves in mirth and recreation. Louis pretended, at first, not to hear the offer; but, on Howard’s repeating it, he expressed his concern, that the troubled state of his kingdom, would not permit him to wait upon his royal guest, and do him the honours that he intended.—“Edward,” said he, privately, to the historian, Commynes,

“is a very handsome and a very amorous prince: some lady, at Paris, may like him, as well as he shall like her, and may invite him to return thither, in another manner. I am glad to have him, for a friend and brother, beyond the sea; but I am not fond of his company:—his predecessors took up their residence rather long at Paris: it is better that the sea be between us.”

To this prince, every measure was just, provided he could accomplish his design. The duke of Savoy had rendered him some service, when he was exciting an insurrection against his father; and Louis, to show his gratitude, engaged to bring about a marriage between him and the heiress of Brittany. Inventing some pretence, he invited the duke of Brittany to his court; and, while he detained the father, he concerted a plan for carrying off the daughter, which had nearly proved successful.

The subsequent part of this monarch's reign, was one continued scene of executions, wars, and negotiations. Never were so many traitors seen, in France. The artful and hypocritical disposition of Louis, had rendered perfidy and deceit the fashionable vices of the court. His ministers, themselves, conspired against him; and the bishop of Verdun and cardinal Balue, men as wicked as himself, suffered those tortures that they had invented for others. They were each confined, for eleven years, in an iron cage, eight feet square, in the castle of Loche; a punishment the more approved, as it was of their own contriving. His own brother, Charles, was, by his directions, poisoned. The unsuspecting prince, while courting the daughter of the duke of Burgundy, was presented with a beautiful peach, by his almoner, and, in sharing the fruit, with his intended bride, he prepared his own destruction. The princess died almost immediately, and the duke survived about six months. Many noblemen lost their lives on the scaffold. The execution of the duke of Nemours, was particularly barbarous. Louis ordered his two infant sons to be placed under the scaffold, that they might be sprinkled with their father's blood!

He was naturally inclined to associate with persons of the middle class. His principal favourite was Oliver le Dain, who had been his barber; by whom he was more influenced than by any courtier in his palace.

Amidst all his crimes, and all his blunders, he lived to

see his kingdom much enlarged, his subjects obedient, and his government firm. He united to his monarchy, Maine, Barois, Provence, and nearly all Artois; several cities of Picardy, Roussilon, Cerdagne, and the county of Boulogne. The gratification experienced by Louis, from the success of his projects, was greatly increased by the birth of a son; who afterwards succeeded to the throne, under the appellation of Charles VIII. As he had long been extremely anxious for this event, he made a vow, in case it should occur, to offer up, at the shrine of the Virgin, at Pui, in Anjou, the image of a child, made of solid silver, equal in weight to his son, when he should attain his eleventh year; and he accordingly appropriated, for that purpose, one-hundred-and-sixty-thousand crowns of gold.

1483. Death, at last, overtook him; but not before he had suffered more severe tortures, than any criminal punished during his reign.

The picture drawn by Philip de Commines, of the last scene of this monarch's life, is deeply shaded with horror. He had put to death more than four-thousand persons, by different kinds of torture, and without any form of trial. He was frequently present, at their execution; in beholding which, he seemed to enjoy a barbarous triumph. Many of the nobility were, by his order, confined in iron cages, and carried about like wild beasts; while others were loaded with galling fetters, with a ring of a particular construction, for the feet. In consequence of these barbarities, he became greatly afraid of death; and, during his illness, suspicious of every one around him. After often shifting his residence, and changing his domestics, he took up his abode in the castle of Plessis-les-Tours; which he had encompassed with large bars of iron, in the form of a grate, with a watch-tower, of iron, at each corner of the building. Spikes of iron, set as thick as possible, were fastened into the wall; and cross-bowmen were placed in the ditches, and in the watch-towers, to shoot at any one who dared to approach the castle, before the opening of the gate. Through the day, the captains were ordered to guard their several posts, and there was a main guard in the middle of the court, as in a town besieged. He paid his physician, whom he feared, the sum of ten-thousand crowns a month; and it is said that he drank the blood of infants, with a view of softening his scorbutic humours.

Though strongly impressed with the fear of death, Louis made a very inefficient preparation for his approaching end. Having recommended himself to the prayers of Bourdeille, archbishop of Tours, that prelate thought the opportunity favourable for exciting a lively sense of his many crimes; and he accordingly represented to him, that the most acceptable offering he could make to God, would be a contrite heart; that gifts to the church would not expiate sins; that he had imprisoned several bishops, and expelled others from their sees, and had been guilty of many other acts, against his subjects.—Enraged at the freedom of his censures, Louis replied, that he had asked him for prayers, and not for advice; that such complaints were an attack upon the sovereign authority, and bore a strong resemblance to threats; that Bourdeille meddled with too many affairs; and that he defied him, and all the prelates he had mentioned, to find any flaw in his conduct. The king then ordered the chancellor to institute a process against the archbishop and the other prelates; and Bourdeille was finally compelled to ask pardon, for having discharged his duty.

But, though Louis, as he told the archbishop, asked for prayers, and not for advice, yet did he wish for those prayers, less for the salvation of his soul, than the re-establishment of his health. As he felt an inconvenience from the north-wind, when it blew for some days together, he ordered general processions to St. Dennis; but, being ashamed to avow his weakness, he commanded the prayers that were said on those occasions, to be offered up, not for a change of the wind, but for the health of the king and the dauphin, and the preservation of the fruits of the earth. We are told that his chaplain was one day reciting an orison to St. Eutropius, and, when he came to pray for “the health of the *soul*, and of the *body*,” he was interrupted by the king, who told him, that he ought not to ask for so many things at a time, and requested him to pray only for the health of the *body*.—There is a letter of his, still extant, addressed to Peter Cadouet, a monk, in which, he says, “Master Peter, my friend, I request you, with all possible earnestness, to pray incessantly to God, and our lady of Salles, in my behalf; that it may please them to send me a quartan ague; for I am afflicted with a malady, which my physicians tell me cannot be cured without it; and, as soon as I have it, I will let you know.”

He died in the sixty-first year of his age, and the twenty-second of his reign,—a bad son, a bad husband, a negligent father, the worst of monarchs, the worst of men.

In the tenth year of this reign (1470) the first book, printed in France, was executed, at Paris, by Ulric Gering. The art of Printing, which has had so powerful an influence in the improvement of the human mind, and in the reformation of government and religion, known to the Chinese, in a rude, though efficient mode, upwards of a thousand years before, was re-discovered, it is generally agreed, by Laurentius Koster, a wealthy citizen of Haerlem, in Holland, about the year 1430. Laurentius, it is stated, by an early writer on the discovery of printing, when walking, in a wood, picked up a small bough of a tree, which had been broken off by the wind. He then sat down, and amused himself by cutting upon it some letters, and wrapped up, in a piece of paper, the part which he had thus engraved. He afterwards fell asleep, and, when he awoke, he perceived that the paper, having been moistened by a shower of rain, had received an impression from the letters; which induced him to pursue the accidental discovery, until he applied it to the purpose of printing. Laurentius, however, proceeded no further, than the use of wooden blocks; on which, were engraved the words, in the manner of a stereotype. To this incipient mode, an improvement was made, by two brothers, named Geinsfleiche, or Guttunburg; who had been in the employment of Laurentius, and, after his death, carried off a part of his printing-blocks, to Mentz, in Germany; where they succeeded in forming separate metal types, with engraved faces. But the art was yet far from being completed. It seems to have been brought nearly to its present state of perfection, by Peter Schoeffer, of the latter city; who, in the year 1456, cast a fount of types, from matrices or moulds, previously cut with the several letters. With this invention, John Faustus, now his partner, but formerly his employer, was so much pleased, that he gave the ingenious artist his only daughter, in marriage.

In the year 1460, Faustus, (or Fust, as he is sometimes called) and his partner Schoeffer, printed an edition of the Bible. This was a very expensive work, and was five years in the press. It was this edition, as some authors relate, of which Faustus carried a number of copies to Paris; where he sold them, first for six-hundred, then for five-hundred

crowns, each; which were the prices commonly given to the scribes, for very elegant copies of the Scriptures. He afterwards, by degrees, reduced the price to thirty crowns. It is said, that the purchasers were ignorant that these copies were printed; and that it was the policy of Faustus to make them believe they were written. They were an exact imitation of the best manuscripts. As he lowered his price, his sales increased, and people were astonished at his producing copies as fast as they were wanted. When he reduced the price to thirty crowns, all Paris was amazed; both on account of their uniformity, and the quantity produced. It was believed, that he had made a league with the devil, and he was accused of being a magician. The catholic clergy were alarmed, as they feared that the Scriptures would get into the hands of laymen. His lodgings were searched, by the officers of the police: several Bibles were found; and the red ink, with which the illuminators had made the great capitals, at the beginning of each chapter, was pronounced to be his blood. Faustus fled, and escaped the death which awaited such hapless victims of superstition; and, from this event, originated the story of "The Devil and Doctor Faustus."

CHARLES VIII.

1483—1498.

Either from the delicacy of his constitution, or motives of jealousy in his father, Charles had been deprived of all the advantages of education; so that, on his accession to the throne, although in his fourteenth year, he could neither read nor write. From this degrading state of mental darkness, however, he soon emerged. Ashamed of his ignorance, the youthful monarch no sooner became his own master, than he applied himself to study, with indefatigable zeal; and engaged a learned professor, to translate, for his use, the Commentaries of Cæsar, and the life of Charlemagne.

Although, by the laws of the realm, Charles was now of age to assume the reins of government, yet it had not been deemed prudent to intrust them to so feeble hands. Louis, therefore, had, by his will, vested the administration in his eldest daughter, Anne of France, wife of Peter de Bourbon, lord of Beajeau; a woman, who seems to have inherited the

intriguing disposition, together with the political talents, of her father;

But there were others, who supposed they had stronger claims to the regency, and were not deterred from standing forward to assert them. The first of these (after the death of the queen-dowager) was Louis, duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood; who had been compelled, by the late king, to marry his daughter Jane; a princess, whose person was extremely disgusting, and so deformed, that she was thought incapable of having offspring.

The other claimant was the duke of Bourbon; who, though of the blood royal, was so far removed from the throne, that there was no danger of his aspiring to ascend it.

The two competitors filled the council with their creatures, and thwarted all the measures of the new government. Perceiving, however, that the prudence of Madame (by which title, the king's eldest daughter is known, in France) rose superior to all their manoeuvres, they united in a request, that the states-general might be convened, and the arrangement of the administration be left solely to them. To this proposal, Anne was at length constrained to assent; and the states were summoned to meet at Tours.

Meanwhile, she left no measures untried, that were likely to secure her interest. Persons of influence were loaded with favours; the guilty ministers of her father, were severely punished. She delivered into the hands of justice, his two greatest favourites, Oliver le Dain and John Doyac. Amongst a variety of crimes, of which le Dain was accused, the following seems most to have fixed the attention of the judges.—A gentleman having been arrested, by the king's orders, and threatened with death, his wife applied to the favourite, to intercede in his behalf. Her youth, her beauty, and her tears, made a strong impression upon Oliver: but, incapable of harbouring any sentiment of generosity, he demanded the sacrifice of her virtue, as the price of her husband's safety. This infamous proposal was at first rejected, by the lady, with the disdain it was calculated to excite; but, having obtained permission to visit her husband in prison, she was overcome by his tears and entreaties, and at length consented to purchase his life with the sacrifice of her honour. Fearing, however, that, as soon as she had obtained the required favour, she would absent herself, for

ever, from his sight, Oliver procured an order from the king, for the prisoner's death; and he commissioned one of his satellites to put the unfortunate gentleman into a sack, and throw him into the river. The crime was discovered, by some fishermen, who drew up the body, in their nets; and the lady had now the mortification to perceive, that the very means employed by her to save her husband's life, had proved the cause of his death. So long as Louis lived, she concealed her grief; conscious that the publication of her shame, would produce no possible advantage: but, after the death of that tyrant, she stood boldly forward, demanding justice on the assassin of her husband; and Le Dain, having confessed the crime, was hanged, together with his accomplice.

Doyac, who had been a common informer, and employed, by Louis, to calumniate the duke of Bourbon, escaped the gallows, but to undergo a punishment equally ignominious, and more painful. He was sentenced to be whipped, in different parts of the metropolis; to have one ear cut off, and his tongue pierced with a red hot iron. He was then conveyed to Montferrand, the place of his birth; where he was again whipped, lost his other ear, and was afterwards banished from the kingdom.

1484. On the fourteenth of January, the king, accompanied by his whole court, made his solemn entry into Tours; and, on the following day, the session was opened, by a speech from William de Rochefort, chancellor of France. It was, at length, resolved, that the king should himself publish all letters patent, regulations, and ordinances, after they had been discussed by the council; that, in the king's absence, the duke of Orleans, as first prince of the blood, should preside in the council; where every measure should be decided by a plurality of votes: that, after the duke of Orleans, and in his absence, the duke of Bourbon should preside; and that the lord of Beajeau should have the third place, and preside in the absence of the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon.

The fear of offending the duke of Orleans, prevented the states from making any mention, in their resolutions, of Madame. But she had no reason to complain. They were so contrived, as to leave her in possession of all her power. If she found her measures thwarted in the council, she

could soon remedy that inconvenience, by sending the king, of whose person she had the sole disposal, to preside.

The next subject that engaged the attention of the assembly, was the state of the revenue; embracing the numerous impositions practiced in its collection and disbursement. It appears, from their proceedings, that the French, at this period, entertained some just and rational ideas of civil liberty; and, that though they had tamely acquiesced in the tyrannical measures of Louis XI., they were unwilling that his conduct should be received as a precedent: and, had the states general only procured the privilege of assembling at fixed and stated periods, despotism could never have reached that alarming height, which it attained under the succeeding monarchs of the Capetian race. The deputies seemed unanimous in opinion, that there ought to be a general abolition of imposts; and passed a resolution, that all taxes, and other arbitrary exactions, ought to be abolished; and that, in future, agreeable to the national franchise, no tax or impost, whatever, should be levied, without the consent of the states general.—“Continue, august prince!” exclaimed John Masselin, their speaker, addressing the king, “to regulate your conduct by wholesome advice: but, beware of the arts of those perfidious counsellors, by whom the princes of your blood are surrounded. They will tell you, that a king is omnipotent; that he is never wrong; that his will is law. These are monsters—objects of public execration: exterminate them, without delay, or they will not only corrupt your heart, but infect your court, and the whole body of the nation.—The people, in a monarchy, possess rights, and have a real property; since they are free, and not slaves.”

The duke of Orleans did not long remain submissive to the decision of the states. He formed cabals, in order to obtain possession of the supreme authority, and levied troops. Anne, however, succeeded in getting him removed. He retired into Brittany, and prevailed upon the duke to espouse his quarrel. Many battles ensued; in one of which, 1488. at the village of Orange, the duke of Orleans was defeated, and taken prisoner.

After the battle, the duke of Orleans, and his ally, the prince of Orange, were conducted to Saint Aubin; where the French general, La Tremouille, invited them, and all

the officers who had been taken with them, to supper. After the meal was finished, he whispered something to one of his attendants, who, in a short time, introduced two friars into the room; the usual precursors of an execution. Alarmed at the sight, the princes immediately rose from the table, and remained motionless: but Tremouille desired them to allay their fears, for that their lives were safe, until the king should have decreed otherwise. "But," said he, "as for you, captains, who have been taken in the act of fighting against your king and country, prepare yourselves for death, for you must die this instant." The princes in vain interfered, in behalf of their partisans: the inhuman general remained inexorable, and his sanguinary orders were immediately obeyed.

The duke of Orleans, after being, for some time, transferred from one prison to another, was at length confined in the tower of Bourges; where he was treated with the utmost severity; being shut up, every night, in an iron cage.

Three years afterwards, the king himself went to release him from his confinement; and commissioned him to negotiate respecting a marriage between Charles and the heiress of Brittany, (the only great fief which now remained disunited from the crown of France) whose father was now dead.

This princess, whose history is deeply interesting and romantic, had many suitors; but the duke of Orleans had met with the best reception: for, though already married, he intended to disengage himself from his wife, by procuring a divorce. To obtain his own liberty, however, and preserve Brittany from conquest, he induced the young dutchess to espouse the king; though the marriage ceremonial had been performed, by proxy, between her and Maximilian, duke of Austria; and Charles himself was contracted to a daughter of that prince; who had, for seven years, been educated at the court of France, and honoured with the title of queen.

This princess, having been sent back to Maximilian, was afterwards contracted to a son of Ferdinand, king of Spain. It is said, that, in her voyage to that country, she had nearly perished, in a storm; and, expecting the vessel every moment to sink, she wrote, with a pencil, the following epitaph upon herself.

*"Ci git Margot, la gente demoiselle,
Qu' eut deux maris, et si mourut pucelle."*

Which may be thus translated:—

"Beneath this tomb, the gentle Margaret's laid,
Who had two husbands, and yet died a maid."

1494. The study of the Commentaries of Cæsar, and the life of Charlemagne, is supposed to have incited the young monarch to an imitation of their warlike exploits. He conceived the project of conquering Naples; which he supposed belonged to him, as heir of the house of Anjou; and, full of gigantic ideas, he collected an army, contrary to the advice of his council; traversed Italy, without meeting scarcely any opposition; entered Rome, as a conqueror and master; and subdued the whole kingdom of Naples, except one town; all which was accomplished without money, in the midst of winter.

Every place in the pope's dominions, opened its gates to the French, except the small town of Foscanelle, which refused them admission. It was, in consequence, taken by assault, and abandoned to pillage. Amongst the prisoners who escaped the sword, was a young girl, of extraordinary beauty; who was reserved for the king. Notwithstanding the horror and despair, which was strongly depicted in her countenance, and the tears which streamed from her eyes, Charles seized her in his arms; when, as she struggled to get loose from him, she perceived a picture of the virgin hanging in the room:—"In the name of her," exclaimed the virtuous maid, "who, by her purity, deserved the honour of becoming mother to the son of God, O, king, spare my honour!"—Charles, casting his eyes upon the picture, relinquished his intention; and, being informed that the maid was betrothed to a young man of decent family, who, with her father and mother had also escaped the fury of the troops, and were then prisoners in the town, he released them all, and gave the fair captive a marriage portion, of five-hundred crowns.

On his return to France, Charles was attacked, at Fornova, by a formidable army of the united princes of Italy, supported by the emperor of Germany, and king of Spain; which he defeated; and, proceeding on his march, reached France triumphant, and ruined; the glory of an heroic soldier being all that he gained, with the loss of so many lives;

his troops having been shortly afterwards expelled from all his conquests.

1498. At this time, a total revolution appears to have taken place, in the manners and disposition of Charles. Quitting those scenes of dissipation, which he had long been accustomed to frequent, and foregoing his taste for illicit indulgence, he applied himself exclusively to the cares of government; and, in imitation of some of his ancestors, administered justice, to his subjects, in person.

But, in the midst of these occupations, alike glorious to a monarch, and advantageous to his people, an accident occurred, which terminated the existence of this youthful prince. During his stay in Italy, he had contracted a taste for architecture; and, on his return, he gave orders, for the erection, at Amboise, the place of his birth, of a more magnificent edifice, than any that had yet been seen in France. From a gallery, in this castle, he was engaged in observing a game of tennis, that was played, in the ditch below; and, desirous that the queen might partake of the amusement, he went to her chamber, and conducted her to the gallery; but, in passing through a door, he struck his head, with violence, against the top, which was very low. He felt, however, no immediate bad consequence from the accident; but, after remaining some time in the gallery, as he was returning with the queen, he suddenly fell, senseless, to the ground. Alarmed at his danger, the attendants laid him upon a wretched couch, which stood in a corner of the gallery: thrice, he recovered his voice, and as suddenly lost it; his expressions were solely those of devotion; and, notwithstanding every effort of medicine, he expired, at eleven o'clock, the same night, in the fifteenth year of his reign, and the twenty-eighth of his age.

The University of Paris contained, at this period, twenty-five thousand students, most of them able to bear arms; who formed a kind of republic, in the midst of the capital.—The celebrated historian, and accomplished statesman, Philip de Communes, flourished in this and the preceding reign.

In the year 1492, Christopher Columbus, a native of Genoa, in the employment of Spain, discovered that quarter of the world, called America; and five years afterwards, in 1497, Vasco de Gama, in the service of Portugal, doubled the celebrated promontory, called the Cape of Good Hope;

and, in the following summer, arrived at Calicut, on the coast of Malabar.

LOUIS XII.

1498—1515.

The direct line of Valois, which had commenced one hundred-and-seventy years ago, in the person of Philip VI. was now extinct; and the sceptre passed to Louis, duke of Orleans, a cousin, in the fourth degree, of the last monarch; and grandson to that duke of Orleans, who was assassinated, at the instigation of the duke of Burgundy, in the reign of Charles VI.

Immediately after his coronation, Louis rewarded the zeal and fidelity of George d'Amboise, archbishop of Rouen, by raising him to the dignity of prime minister; and never did a favourite better deserve the confidence of his sovereign.*

This prince, as we have already seen, had been compelled, at an early age, to marry Jane, the youngest daughter of Louis XI.; and now, on the oath of Louis, that he had never consummated the marriage, pope Alexander VI. was prevailed upon to grant him a divorce. To this sentence, which deprived her of a crown, Jane submitted, with decent resignation; and only expressed a wish to be enabled to reward her domestics, and relieve the poor. The king accordingly assigned her the province of Berry, for her support; and, retiring to a nunnery, which she founded at Bourges, she there took the veil, and passed the remainder of a virtuous life. In the following year, he was joined in matrimony with Anne, the widow of the late king; a union most desirable and important for the realm; as, thereby, the duchy of Brittany was secured to the crown of France.

Deriving from his mother a claim to the duchy of 1499. Milan, and inheriting the title of his predecessors to the kingdom of Naples, Louis involved himself in a series

* The memory of this statesman, afterwards raised to the dignity of cardinal, who died in 1510, is still held in veneration, at Rouen; to the cathedral of which city, he gave the famous bell, which bears his name. It was cast in 1501, measures thirty feet in circumference: the clapper weighs seven-hundred-and-ten pounds, and the bell itself forty-thousand.

of Italian wars, which continued almost during his whole reign; and served only to display the martial courage of himself, and his commanders, particularly the veteran Tremouille, and the young chevalier Bayard; and the treachery and vacillation of his allies. A detail of those wars and negotiations, treaties and confederacies, in which most of the princes of Europe were concerned, but which are now almost buried in oblivion, would be uninteresting, at the present day. It is not easy to determine, which of the French monarch's allies, was the most perfidious—Ferdinand of Arragon, the emperor Maximilian, pope Julius VI., or the mercenary Swiss. The sincerity of Louis, was but ill adapted, to contend against their intrigues. He was duped out of the kingdom of Naples, by the insidious Ferdinand; and, having three times conquered and lost the Milanese, and joined in the league of Cambray, he terminated the contest, after a war of fifteen years, without acquiring one foot of ground.

Humanity shudders at the incidents, which, even in our own days, are the concomitants of war. The French having taken Capua, by assault, the inhabitants were exposed to the fury of an enraged and licentious soldiery; and many females of quality, preferring death to dishonour, threw themselves into the river; while others, who fell into the hands of the conquerors, were carried to Rome, and there exposed to sale. Cæsar Borgia, (son of the infamous pope Alexander VI.) who, accompanied by the French army, entered a tower, whither a number of these unhappy victims had retired for safety, after examining them all, with the eye of a sensualist, chose forty of the most beautiful, for himself

1512. In the mean time, Louis, after seeing all his Italian conquests wrested from him, found his kingdom threatened by an invasion of the English. Henry VIII. had sent a herald to Paris, to exhort the king not to wage an impious war against the sovereign pontiff; and, when he returned, without success, another was sent, to demand the ancient patrimonial provinces of the English crown—Anjou, Guienne, Normandy, and Maine. This message was understood to be a declaration of war. But the artifice of Ferdinand, caused the presence of the English forces to operate wholly in favour of himself. He had formed a design of conquering Navarre; and prevailed upon Henry not to land

his army at Calais, but to send the troops to Fonterabia; under a pretence, that, in the latter situation, he could assist him in the conquest of Guienne; and, though the English general refused to aid in hostilities against Navarre, yet, his being posted in that quarter, kept the French army in awe; and thus enabled the wily Spaniard to effect the conquest of that kingdom, and force its sovereign, John, together with his consort, Catherine, to seek refuge at the court of Louis. This spirited princess could not refrain from exclaiming, to her husband, "Had I been John, and you Catherine, we should not have lost our kingdom."

The English acquired little honour, from this ill conducted enterprise; and an action at sea, which occurred soon afterwards, produced nothing more decisive. An English fleet, of forty-five sail, under the command of Sir Thomas Knevet, was sent to insult the coasts of Brittany; which, after having committed some depredations, was attacked by a French fleet, of thirty-nine sail, under Primauguet. Primauguet's ship took fire, and that officer, finding his destruction inevitable, bore down upon the vessel of the English admiral, and, grappling with her, resolved to make her share his fate. Both fleets stood, for some time, in suspense, as spectators of this dreadful engagement; and the men saw, with horror, the flames which consumed both vessels, and heard the cries of fury and despair uttered by the miserable combatants; when, at last, the French ship blew up, and destroyed the English, and the rest of the French fleet escaped.

The king of England now determined to carry on the war, in person. Twenty-five-thousand Swiss having made an irruption into Burgundy, Henry landed, in the following year, at Calais, with fifty-thousand men, and was soon afterwards joined by Maximilian, with some German and Flemish veterans. Terouane, situated on the borders of Picardy, and Tournay, a city of Flanders, soon yielded to the English arms. But the storm which was gathering, in this quarter, against Louis, passed harmlessly away. Hearing of the retreat of the Swiss, from Burgundy, and observing the season so far advanced, Henry thought proper to return to England, and carried the greater part of his army with him.

1514. Thus, was France delivered from as formidable danger, as any with which she had ever been threatened; and, yielding to the solicitations of his queen, Louis at length concluded a peace with the pope, Leo X. But

Anne did not live to reap the fruits of this accommodation. She expired, on the ninth of February, at Blois; regretted by the nation, and deeply lamented by the king, by whom she was tenderly beloved.

Still grieving for the loss of his queen, Louis had no inclination to take another partner of his throne: but the accounts he received of the charms of Mary, sister of the English monarch, joined to the desire of promoting the happiness of his people, by restoring peace, were motives too strong to be resisted. The articles were soon adjusted, between the two monarchs. Louis agreed, that Tournay should remain in the hands of the English, and that Henry should receive one-million of crowns; in consequence of which treaty, Mary was sent over, with a splendid retinue, to France, and Louis met her at Abbeville; where, on the tenth of October, they were married; the king having then reached his fifty-fourth year, and his bride being only seventeen.

1515. The court became a scene of festivity and pleasure. Enchanted with the beauty, grace, and numerous accomplishments of his youthful consort, Louis, for her gratification, totally changed his manner of living; which produced so injurious an effect upon his health, that he rapidly declined, and was carried to the grave, on the first of January, in the seventeenth year of his reign.

Louis was a monarch of most estimable disposition. A professed enemy to falsehood and equivocation, he punished, with severity, every deviation from truth. Frank, affable, and gay, he gained the affections of all who knew him; while his attention to the welfare and happiness of his subjects, procured him the appellation of The Father of his People.

He had, by his consort, Anne of Brittany, widow of Charles VIII., two sons, who died in their infancy; and two daughters, Claude, married to Francis the first, and Renée, who espoused the duke of Ferrara.

The young widow of the deceased monarch, shortly afterwards married Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk. The duke was valiant in the field, and handsome in his person. At the tournament of St. Dennis, in honour of the nuptials of Mary with the king of France, he was attacked by a strong and gigantic German, at the instigation of the French, who were envious of his reputation: but he repulsed and defeated his antagonist; and so noble was his conduct, that it won the

heart of the youthful bride, who, in three months became a widow, and soon offered her hand and fortune, to her favoured champion. From this couple, was descended, the celebrated lady Jane Gray; who, on the death of Edward VI., was induced, by her injudicious friends, to aspire to the English crown, and in consequence lost her head.

FRANCIS I.

1515—1547.

With Louis XII., expired the elder branch of the house of Orleans; and the sceptre of France was transferred to that of Angouleme. Louis was succeeded by his grand nephew, Francis I., now in his twentieth year; the third instance, since the accession of the Capetian race, of the crown, in default of heirs male of the direct line, passing to a collateral branch.

The adulation, received by Francis, had a fatal effect upon his conduct, by inflating his pride, and flattering his ambition. His reign presents one continued scene of war. Like his two immediate predecessors, he aimed at the conquest of the Milanese; and that maintenance of a point of honour, which sought to attain an object, that, if acquired, could be of no service to himself, or benefit to his people, brought him into collision with almost every power in Europe. But, to particularize the many battles that were fought, or the numerous treaties that were made, by the contending parties, would be a task too extended for the design of the present work. The brands of war were scattered over so many places, at the same time, and their flames spread with so much rapidity and fierceness, that the eye cannot embrace them, at a single view, nor the mind distinguish them, for observation. To condense, into a succinct and lucid form, the various incidents of this busy reign, would be no less difficult than to reckon the waves of a boundless ocean, when lashed by the fury of a raging tempest.

Foreseeing the approaching storm, Ferdinand of Spain entered into a treaty with the Swiss, the duke of Milan, and the pope. On the fifteenth of August, Francis set out for Italy; and, having passed the Alps, in safety, the chevalier Bayard surprised and totally defeated Prospero Colonna, near Villa Franca, with a thousand of the papal horse.

This was, however, only a trifling affair, in comparison with the battle of Marignano. It began about four in the afternoon, on the thirteenth of September, and lasted more than three hours after the close of the day; when the combatants were separated by lassitude and darkness, without any abatement of hostile rage. The king, who passed the night, completely armed, on the carriage of a cannon, was surprised to find himself, the next morning, within a few paces of the enemy, who renewed the charge. But Francis remained master of the field; which was strewn with the bodies of ten-thousand Swiss, and nearly four-thousand of the French.

This defeat struck the duke of Milan with consternation. The French pushed rapidly forward; and, in a few days, Milan and Cremona were surrendered to the duke of Bourbon.

In the following year, Ferdinand was succeeded, on the throne of Spain, by the archduke Charles; and, on 1519. the death of the emperor Maximilian, the kings of France and Spain were candidates for the imperial crown. The attention of all Europe was fixed upon this competition. Each urged his pretensions, with sanguine expectation, and no unreasonable prospect of success. Charles considered the imperial dignity as belonging to him, by right, from its long continuance in the Austrian line. Francis, with equal justice, contended, that the imperial crown was not hereditary, but elective. But the electors did not think it prudent to confer it upon either of the claimants. To choose either of the contending monarchs, would, they thought, be giving, to the empire, a master, in place of a head; and, directing their attention to Frederick, duke of Saxony, a prince, who, from the dignity of his virtue, and the splendour of his talents, had acquired the honourable appellation of "The Sage," they, with one accord, tendered to him the imperial crown. But Frederick magnanimously rejected the proffered diadem.—"In times of tranquillity," said he, "we wish for an emperor who has no power to invade our liberties: times of danger require one who has the ability to protect us. The Turkish armies are assembling, under the conduct of a prince, distinguished for his gallantry, and flushed with conquest. They are preparing to rush, like a torrent, upon Germany, with a violence, unprecedented, in former times. Some hand more potent than mine, or that

of any other German prince, must, at this period, be intrusted with the imperial sceptre: recourse, therefore, must be had to one of the rival monarchs; each of whom can bring into the field, troops sufficient for our defence. But, as the king of Spain is of German extraction; as he is a member and prince of the empire, by the territories inherited by him from his grandfather, his claim is, in my opinion, preferable, to that of a stranger to our language, to our blood, and to our country; and therefore I give my vote to raise him to the imperial throne."

This opinion made a deep impression upon the electors. On the twenty-eighth of June, about five months after the death of Maximilian, the Spanish monarch was, by the unanimous voice of the electoral college, raised to the imperial throne, under the title of Charles V.

1521. The king of France was most sensibly mortified, by this disappointment; and rather courted than avoided a cause of rupture. Charles had, by treaty, agreed to do justice to John d'Albert, the excluded sovereign of Navarre; whom Francis was bound by honour, and prompted by friendship, to restore; but, though frequent applications had been made, on this subject, to Charles, he eluded them all, upon frivolous pretences; and Francis therefore thought himself authorized to assist the exiled family. Henry d'Albert had succeeded to the claims of his father John; and an army was levied, in France, in his name, under the conduct of Andrew de Foix, lord of Lesparre; which reduced, in a few days, the whole kingdom, without meeting any obstruction, except at Pampeluna; nor would the slight resistance made by that fortress, have deserved notice, if Ignatius Loyala, a gentleman of Biscay, had not been dangerously wounded, in its defence. During the slow progress of a lingering cure, Loyala had no other amusement than what he could find in the lives of the saints. The effect of such reading, upon a mind naturally enthusiastic, was, to inspire him with so great a desire of emulating the glory of those sainted members of the Roman church, as led him into the most extravagant adventures, which terminated in the institution of the Jesuits; the most political and the best regulated of all the monastic orders.

Navarre, however, was soon retaken. Stimulated by the ardour of youth, and encouraged by the king of France, who was subject to be dazzled by success, Lesparre en

tered the dominions of Spain; and the Castilians being thus roused from their lethargy, the French army was attacked, at Squiros. Lesparre himself was wounded, and taken prisoner; and Spain recovered possession of Navarre, in less time than had been spent in its conquest by the French.

Having secured the alliance of the pope, and the friendship of cardinal Wolsey, (prime minister of Henry VIII. of England) for whom he promised to obtain the papal dignity, on the death of Leo, Charles resolved to seize the first opportunity of coming to an open rupture with the king of France. The count of Nassau laid siege to Mousson; which, owing to the cowardice of the governor, surrendered without resistance. He next invested Mezieres: but, happily for France, the king, sensible of its great importance, had intrusted its defence to the chevalier Bayard; who preferred death to dishonour, and, by his valour and integrity, had obtained the appellation of "The knight without fear, and without reproach." By repeated exertions of valour and able conduct, he contrived to protract the siege to a considerable length, and obliged the imperialists to retire, with considerable loss.

The league between the pope and the emperor, produced a sensible effect in Italy, and rendered Lombardy the theatre of war. Milan having been betrayed to Leo, nearly the whole dutchy revolted from France. These disasters were soon followed by the loss of Genoa, and the defection of the Venetians; and France had now to oppose a confederacy of all the Italian princes, except the duke of Savoy.

During these transactions, pope Adrian, who had succeeded Leo X., died, to the great joy of the Roman people; who hailed his physician as "the deliverer of his country." He was succeeded, in the chair of St. Peter, by the cardinal de Medicis; who assumed the appellation of Clement VII.

La Tremouille had a more formidable enemy to encounter, in Picardy, invaded by the united armies of England and Flanders, amounting to twenty-four thousand men. The duke of Suffolk, who commanded them, penetrated as far as the banks of the Oyse, within eleven leagues of Paris; filling that capital with consternation. But the invaders were at length compelled to retire; and Tremouille

had the glory of checking, with a handful of men, a numerous army, and of expelling them from France.

1525. The French monarch should have contented himself with providing for the future defence of his kingdom; but he was yet bent upon the recovery of the Milanese. He accordingly crossed the Alps, with a powerful army, at Mount Cenis, marched directly to Milan, of which he made an easy conquest, and then laid siege to the city of Pavia. Its governor was reduced to the greatest extremity; and the Germans, having received no pay for seven months, threatened to deliver the town to the French: but the duke of Bourbon (who, in consequence of being persecuted by the queen-dowager of France, had joined the imperial standard) having arrived, with twelve-thousand of their countrymen, gave them a superiority over the French. A sanguinary engagement followed. Francis continued fighting, until exhausted by fatigue; and, scarcely capable of further resistance, he was left almost alone, exposed to the fury of some Spanish soldiers. At that moment, came up Pomperant, a French gentleman, who had accompanied Bourbon, in his flight; and, placing himself by the side of the monarch, against whom he had rebelled, assisted in protecting him from the violence of the soldiers; at the same time, conjuring him to surrender to Bourbon, who was not far distant: but the name of Bourbon roused the indignation of Francis; who called for Lannoy, and gave to him his sword. Francis was immediately conducted to the imperial camp, where his wounds were dressed; and whence he despatched this laconic epistle to his mother:—"Madame, all is lost, except our honour."

Ten-thousand men fell in this fatal action, and the field of Pavia was stained with the best blood of France. La Tremouille and Bonnuet were amongst the slain: the king of Navarre, Montmorenci, and many other illustrious warriors, were made prisoners, with Francis.

The feeble garrison of Milan, on the first news of this defeat, retired, without being pursued; and, in two weeks after the battle, not a French soldier remained beyond the Alps.

But this signal victory over Francis, produced one consequence, which the most sagacious politician could not have foreseen. Startled at the fatal effects of that battle, Henry VIII. had become sensible of his own danger, as well as

that of all Europe, from the loss of a proper counterpoise to the power of Charles; while his minister, Wolsey, was enraged at the recollection of the emperor's treachery, in having deluded him with vain promises of the papal crown: the English monarch, therefore, seized the first decent pretence for withdrawing from his alliance.

Meanwhile, the hard treatment, received by the French king, in his confinement at Madrid, threw him into a fever; and the emperor, fearful of losing, by his death, all the fruits of his victory, condescended to pay him a consolatory visit. As he approached the bed, in which Francis lay, the sick monarch said to him, "You come, sir, to visit your prisoner."—"No," replied Charles, "I come to visit my brother and my friend, who shall soon obtain his liberty."

1526. This flattering language, together with the specious promises of the emperor, had so good an effect upon the king, that he daily recovered: but the expectations which he had been led to entertain, vanished, with the return of health; and Francis, in despair, resigned his kingdom to the dauphin.

Charles became seriously alarmed. Wisely judging that a larger ransom could be obtained for a living, than a dead king, he consented to a treaty; which was accordingly concluded, after Francis had secretly protested, in the presence of his friends, against the validity of a contract, extorted, as he said, by force; a species of casuistry, to which we are very far from assenting.

The most objectionable article in this treaty, was that by which Francis engaged to cede Burgundy to Charles.

On the eighteenth of March, Francis was conducted to Fontarabia, and hastened to the banks of the Bidassoa, accompanied by Lannay, Alarçon, and an escort of fifty horse; while his two sons appeared on the opposite shore. His sons having been delivered to the Spanish officers, as hostages for the performance of the treaty, the king crossed the river; and, instantly mounting a Turkish horse, waved his hand over his head, and, exclaiming, "I am yet a king!" galloped, at full speed, to St. John de Luz, and thence to Bayonne; where he was joyfully received, by his whole court.

But Charles, by grasping at too much, gained nothing, by the hard conditions imposed upon the imprisoned king. The states of Burgundy declared against the clause for the alienation of their province: the pope and the Venetians,

the Swiss, the Florentines, and the duke of Milan, entered into a treaty with Francis; by which, on condition of his renouncing all his pretensions in Italy, except to Genoa and the country of Aste, they engaged to compel the emperor to deliver up the two young princes, on payment of an equitable ransom.

1527. Grown careless, by the hopes arising from this contract, the king neglected to send reinforcements to his Italian allies; and meanwhile the duke of Bourbon led his army to Rome; and, though he was himself killed, by a random shot, when planting a ladder against the walls, yet his soldiers took that city, by assault, and exercised all those barbarities, which may be expected from ferocity excited by resistance, and insolence inflated by success. Another error, not less serious, in its consequences, was soon afterwards committed, by the French monarch. Prevailed upon, by the fatal councils of his ministers, he disgusted his admiral, Doria; and this able officer, having entered into a negotiation with the emperor, delivered Naples from the distressing effects of a blockade, and his native city, Genoa, from the galling trammels of a foreign yoke.

1529. Francis now entertained serious thoughts of peace. The emperor, also, alarmed at the rapid progress of the Turkish arms, embarrassed by the propagation of the doctrines of Luther, in Germany, and the seditious murmurs of his subjects in Spain, evinced an inclination to intermit the tournament of war. A treaty was concluded, at Cambray. Francis renounced all pretensions to the dutchy of Milan, the country of Aste, and the kingdom of Naples; took, for his second wife, Eleanora, the emperor's sister, and relinquished his rights to the sovereignty of Artois, and the possession of Tournay and Arras; and Charles accepted two-millions of crowns, as the ransom of the French princes.

Meanwhile, the progress of the Reformation, in Germany, was rapid and extensive; and the princes of the empire, who professed the doctrines of Luther, finding that liberty of conscience was denied them, had combined, in a league, for their own defence, at Smalcalde; and, because they *protested* against the votes passed, by the Catholic princes, in the imperial diet, at Spire, for the defence of the established faith, they thenceforth received the appellation of *Protestants*.

1535. Six years afterwards, the armies of the rival monarchs were again arrayed against each other; hos-

ilities were renewed, in Italy, by Francis; his kingdom was invaded by the emperor; and the war continued until the year 1538, when it was ended by a truce.

1540. Yet, notwithstanding these bloody conflicts, the rival monarchs seemed capable of mutual friendship. They appeared to extend towards each other urbanity and confidence. The citizens of Ghent having revolted, and his immediate presence being required, to reduce them, Charles asked and obtained a passage to the Netherlands, through France. On the first of January, he made his public entry into Paris. But the profusion of honours heaped upon him, was insufficient to remove his apprehensions; and, conscious that he merited no kindness from his rival, he began to blame his own imprudence, in having put himself into his power. Impressed with these ideas, he was greatly alarmed at a joke passed upon him by the duke of Orleans; who jumped up behind him upon his horse, and, throwing his arms around his waist, exclaimed—"Your imperial majesty is now my prisoner."—At another time, Francis, who was candour itself, told him, that the dutchess of Estampes (mistress of the king) was of opinion, that he should not suffer him to leave Paris, until he had revoked the treaty of Madrid. "If the advice be good," replied the emperor, greatly disconcerted, "you ought to follow it;" at the same time, he purposely let fall a superb diamond, which the dutchess picked up, and which he begged her to accept: she complied with his request; and, in the sequel, repaid his attention, by betraying the interests of her sovereign. The king's fool having placed the emperor's name on his list, for having put himself in the power of his rival, observed, that, if the king suffered him to escape, he would efface the emperor's name, and insert his master's, in its place.

1541. The emperor had promised to Francis the investiture of Milan, but, having obtained the desired favour, had failed in its performance. The king was greatly enraged, when he found himself the dupe of his unprincipled rival; and his indignation was augmented, in proportion as he perceived that the credulous simplicity with which he had trusted him, exposed him to the ridicule of Europe. He suspected the fidelity of his own servants; and, though he had resolved upon a renewal of the war, he dismissed his best general, Montmorenci.

The flames of war, which had been suppressed, but not

extinguished, again arose, with unabated fury. The king of England withdrew from his alliance with France, and joined the emperor; notwithstanding the ill treatment he had formerly experienced from Charles. He pretended that Francis had engaged to support the Scots against the power of England, and he had also received information of some raileries, indulged in, by the French king, with regard to his wives.

1544. The imperial forces met with a severe defeat, at Cerizoles; where ten-thousand of their number were slain, and four-thousand taken prisoners. Henry soon afterwards landed, at Calais, with thirty-thousand men, and was joined by fourteen-thousand, under the admiral of Flanders. Charles, having taken the field with sixty-thousand, made himself master of Luxembourg, Commercy, and St. Dizier; and, proceeding on his march, advanced as far as Epernay and Chateau-Thierry. The Parisians hastened to quit the capital, and the roads to Rouen and Orleans were covered with wagons, loaded with their wives and children, and effects. But the dauphin, by a forced march, contrived to throw himself between the army of Charles and Paris; the emperor turned to the left, and marched to Soissons; and, finding his schemes for subduing France likely to prove abortive, proposed terms of accommodation to the king; and a treaty was accordingly concluded, at Crespy, in the Laonnois.

1545. The war between England and France was not distinguished, this year, by any memorable event. The French fleet, consisting of two-hundred sail, and the English of one-hundred, cannonaded each other, off the Isle of Wight, for two days; but, except the sinking of one vessel of the English, the damage, on both sides, was of little moment. It was, indeed, scarcely possible, that a fleet could, at that time, obtain any considerable advantage, over an enemy, without boarding. The cannon were generally so ill served, that, it is mentioned, by a French writer, as something extraordinary, "that each of these numerous fleets, during an engagement which lasted three hours, fired fully three-hundred shot;" whereas, a single vessel could now, without difficulty, discharge three times the number.

1547. Thus, have we given an imperfect sketch of the ever-changing operations of this eventful reign. Our pen is soon to be relieved from the fatiguing task. One of

the chief actors, in the murderous drama, was at length summoned before that throne, where kings, as well as their subjects, the oppressor and the oppressed, must tremble, and await their doom. The last hours of the life of Francis, were embittered with domestic contention, arising from the rivalry of the dutchess d'Estampes, and Diana of Poitiers, mistress of the dauphin. A slow fever continually preyed upon him: he wandered from one palace to another, in a state of languor and depression; and at length expired, at Rambouillet, in the fifty-third year of his age, and the thirty-third of his reign.

Francis was an ardent patron of the sciences; and established salaries for professors of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, surgery and physic. A mathematical professor was also instituted, during his reign, and the study of natural philosophy began to be cultivated, with diligence and success.

From the year 1528, to 1534, perpetual summer prevailed in France. During four years, not two days of frost were experienced: nature, exhausted by a continued heat, incessantly produced blossoms, but had not strength to mature the fruit. A scarcity of provisions was the consequence of this phenomenon; and the harvest was scarcely sufficient to supply seed for the following year. A most dreadful famine prevailed; and the use of unwholesome food, produced a disorder, which carried off one fourth of the inhabitants.

HENRY II.

1547—1559.

THE throne was now occupied by Henry II.; the only surviving son of the late king, by Claude, daughter of Louis XII., now in his twenty-eighth year.

Notwithstanding the dying injunctions of his father, Henry hastened to recall the constable Montmorenci; whom he re-established in the possession of all his honours, and placed at the head of the administration. Five different parties at this time existed in France. The first was headed by the king's mistress, Diana of Poitiers, created dutchess of Valentinois; the second, by Montmorenci; the third, by the house of Guise; the fourth, by the mareschal St. André; the fifth, by the queen, Catherine of Medicis, a daughter of the duke of Florence.

Though war is the most afflicting scourge of nations, it seems to be the most fascinating amusement of kings. During this reign, the sword was continually stained with blood. It presents a distressing narrative of unnecessary battles; a horrid spectacle of carnage and desolation. The able defence of Metz, by the duke of Guise, the most celebrated warrior of the French armies, caused terrible destruction amongst the besiegers, headed by the emperor himself. Finding it impossible to contend longer with the rigour of the season, and with enemies whom he could neither overpower by force, nor subdue by art, while, at the same time, a contagious distemper raged amongst his troops, Charles yielded to the solicitations of his general; who conjured him to save the remains of his army, by a timely retreat. "Fortune," said he, "I now perceive, resembles other females, and chooses to confer her favours upon young men; while she forsakes those who are advanced in years."

On the twenty-sixth of October, Charles gave orders to raise the siege, after having continued fifty-six days before the town; during which time, he lost thirty-six-thousand men. The duke of Guise took measures to molest the imperialists, on their march. Such was the confusion, in which they made their retreat, that the French might have annoyed them in the most cruel manner. But, when they sallied out, a spectacle presented itself to their view, which extinguished, at once, all hostile rage, and melted them into tenderness and compassion. The imperial camp was filled with the sick and wounded, the dying and the dead. In all the different roads, by which the army retired, numbers were found, who, having made an effort to escape, beyond their strength, were left, when they could go no further, to perish, without assistance. This, they received from their enemies; to whom, they were indebted for all the kind offices, that could not be performed by their friends. The duke of Guise ordered proper refreshments, for such as were dying of hunger; appointed surgeons to attend the sick and wounded; and, as soon as they recovered, he sent them home, under an escort of soldiers, with money to bear the charges of the road.

1556. The emperor at length grew weary of the burthen of government, and the toils of war. He surprised the world, by resigning Spain to his son, Philip II.; and, in about a year afterwards, having resolved to withdraw,

entirely, from the troubles of the world, that he might spend the remainder of his days in solitude, he relinquished the imperial dignity, to his brother Ferdinand, king of the Romans.

Henry VIII. was succeeded by his son, Edward VI.; who, after a reign of only a few years, made room for his half-sister, Mary; at the period to which our history has arrived, on the throne of England. Mary was married to Philip II.; a monarch equally bigoted in favour of the Roman Catholic doctrine, and as gloomy and tyrannical as the queen herself. In the fifth year of her reign, Calais, the only place remaining to the English, on the continent, was taken, by the duke of Guise, after a siege of only eight days; having been in their possession ever since its capture by Edward III., a period of two-hundred-and-ten years. This event sunk deep into the mind of Mary: she had long been in a delicate state of health; a variety of reflections now tormented her, which threw her into a fever; of which, she died, in the sixth year of her reign. She was succeeded by her half-sister, Elizabeth, (daughter of Henry VIII. and Anna Boleyn) a princess of the protestant religion; who, though herself not wholly free from the charge of tyranny, yet displayed talents for governing, and a love of her country, which rendered her the most illustrious sovereign of that age.

In the following year, plenipotentiaries from the belligerent parties, assembled, at Chateau-Cambresis, and there agreed upon the terms of peace. The treaty between France and England contained no article of importance, except that which regarded Calais; which was allowed to remain with the French. The principal articles between Henry and Philip, were, that the two monarchs should labour, in concert, to procure the convocation of a general council, in order to check the progress of heresy, and restore unity and concord to the Christian Church; and that all the conquests, made on this side of the Alps, since the commencement of the war, in 1551, should be mutually restored; and, thus, by this famous treaty, peace was re-established in Europe, after nearly thirty years' continuance of war; and all causes of discord seemed to be wholly removed.

Soon after its conclusion, the duke of Savoy repaired, with a numerous retinue, to Paris, to celebrate his marriage with Henry's sister. The duke of Alva was sent, to the

same capital, at the head of a splendid embassy, to espouse the king's daughter, Elizabeth, in the name of his master, the king of Spain: the ceremony was performed, on the twenty-sixth of June, at the church of Notre Dame. Great rejoicings and festivities took place, on this occasion, and a grand tournament was held, in the Rue Saint Antoine; at which, the palin of victory was borne away by the king. But, as he was returning from the circle, he perceived two lances, at one end of the lists, which were unbroken: one of these he took himself, the other he sent to Montgomery, the captain of his guards; a man eminently skilled in every martial exercise; inviting him to break it, with his sovereign, in honour of the ladies. Montgomery hesitated, for some time, and even twice refused to obey the summons: Mary, queen of Scotland, and the queen of France, too, who were present, sent, to entreat the king to content himself with the glory he had already acquired, and to run no further risk;—Henry, however, persisted; and, at length, sent a positive order to Montgomery, to prepare for the assault. He obeyed: the attack was violent; their lances were shivered into pieces: but the king's vizor having been deranged, by the shock, one of the broken pieces of his adversary's lance, pierced his forehead, just above the left eye, and he fell senseless upon the ground. He was immediately conveyed to his palace; and the surgeons, after examining the wound, declared it, though dangerous, not incurable: but an abscess having unexpectedly formed in the head, their utmost skill proved ineffectual; and, on the tenth of July, Henry expired, in the forty-first year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign.

The character of this monarch, may be traced in a few words. He was more of the warrior, than the statesman; active and intrepid in the field, but weak and irresolute in the council: the best quality, in his disposition, was his constancy in friendship; the worst, his cruelty in religion.

During the reign of Henry, the doctrine of the reformers began to spread, with great celerity, in France; and the persecuting spirit of that monarch, instead of nipping it in the bud, served only to expand its blossoms, and give maturity to that fruit, which it was designed to blast. The French reformers, known by the appellation of the Hugonots, were chiefly of the sect of Calvin; and their principles, of course, further removed from the established

church, than those of the more moderate followers of Luther, and more likely to raise disgust, in the minds of the Roman Catholics; who were firmly resolved to adhere to the ancient religion of their country, with all its mysterious ceremonies and creeds. An inquisition was established, in France, by pope Paul IV.; several Calvinists were committed to the flames, and many sought refuge amongst the Swiss.

John Calvin, the celebrated reformer, whose doctrines are followed by the church of Scotland, and the majority of presbyterians in other countries, was born at Noyou, in Picardy, in the year 1509, and died in 1564, in his fifty-fifth year. He studied grammar under Corderius; who, on account of his truly classic style, may justly be ranked amongst the purest writers of the Latin tongue. Corderius, the author of the well known primary class-book, the *Colloquies of Cordery*, was born in Normandy, in the year 1479, and died at Paris, in 1564, in the eighty-fifth year of his age.

Some estimate may be formed of the number of inhabitants, in Paris, during this reign, by the circumstance, that they could muster forty-thousand persons capable of bearing arms.

FRANCIS II.

1559—1560.

THE short reign of Francis II., son of the deceased monarch, who had just entered his sixteenth year, exhibits nothing but conspiracy and intrigue. His education had been neglected, not from inattention or design, but through necessity, owing to the weakness of his body. Without desires, without vices, without virtues, he was destined to become a pliant instrument in the hands of any faction, that should take possession of him. This was effectually accomplished, by the house of Guise. Having caused Francis to espouse Mary Stewart, queen of Scotland, their niece, this family, descended from a younger branch of the house Lorraine, assumed the whole authority to themselves. Of the Guises, who acted so conspicuous a part, during this reign, there were six brothers—the duke of Guise, the cardinal of Lorraine, the duke of Aumale, the marquis of Elbeuf, the cardinal of Guise, and the Grand Prior: but

only the first two performed a leading part, in the great theatre of state.

Anthony, king of Navarre, and his brother, Louis de Bourbon, prince of Condé, nearly related to the crown, assisted by the admiral Coligni, and others of the Hugonot party, endeavoured to seize the administration: but, the conspirators having been detected, three of the chiefs were executed, in the presence of the queen-mother and the ladies of the court. Nearly twelve-hundred were hanged, drowned, or beheaded. Villemongi, when brought to the scaffold, dipped his hands into the blood of his associates; and, raising his eyes towards heaven, exclaimed, "Heavenly Father, behold the blood of thy children, which thou wilt revenge."

The prince of Condé, who was chosen leader of the Hugonots, was condemned to lose his head; but the sudden death of the king, suspended the execution, and saved his life. The king's disorder was an abscess in the head; which put an end to his existence, in the eighteenth year of his age, after a reign of only seventeen months.

In the beginning of the year, several reddish spots having appeared on his face, the king was advised to set out for Blois, and there prepare himself, by moderate exercise, for the use of aromatic baths. Apprized of his intention, some evil designing persons had spread a report, that the king was afflicted with the leprosy; and that the only remedy that could be of service, was to bathe in the blood of infants. A number of emissaries had visited all the villages within twenty leagues of Blois; and, while some, without entering into any explanation, took an exact list of the most healthy and beautiful children, others, who followed them, at some distance, revealed the secret, and promised the parents, for a trifling reward, to procure the erasure of the children's names, from the fatal list. By this abominable manœuvre, the report, absurd as it was, obtained such credit, amongst the common people, that, instead of the acclamations of joy, with which they were accustomed to hail their sovereigns, alarm, sorrow, and desolation, marked the progress of the court. Most of the towns and villages were abandoned; while those persons who had courage to remain in their houses, had strongly barricadoed their doors, and did not even dare to look through the windows. Troops of peasants, carrying off their children, were descried in the fields; and,

when pursued, they fell upon their knees, and implored mercy for their infants. At this unusual spectacle, the king burst into tears; and insisted, with so much eagerness, on knowing the cause, that his attendants were under the necessity of telling him the truth. His amazement may easily be imagined. He endeavoured to dispel the fears of the wretched fugitives, and ordered the strictest search to be made, to discover the authors of so infamous a report.

CHARLES IX.

MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW.

1560—1574.

The crown now devolved upon Charles IX., next brother to the monarch deceased; at this time, only in his eleventh year. Incapacitated, by his extreme youth, from holding the reins of government himself, his mother, Catherine of Medicis, at first assumed the authority; but was shortly afterwards compelled to relinquish a considerable portion of the sovereign power, to the king of Navarre; who was created lieutenant general of France.

Though little disturbed by hostilities with any foreign state, France was convulsed, during nearly the whole of this reign, by civil war. The catholics and protestants arrayed themselves against each other, with deadly force. But the sacred duty of an historian, compels us to say, that the latter are not entirely innocent of the charge of having been the first aggressors, in the present reign. They drove the catholic priests from the altars, and despoiled their churches. Be this imputation, however, true or false, the wily Catherine practised against the reformers, her accustomed dissimulation; and even carried her hypocrisy so far, as seemingly to favour their party. The prince of Condé, who, before the death of Francis, had been sentenced to the scaffold, was now permitted to repair to the court, at Fontainbleau; where he was justified from the charges, for which he had been condemned; and it was ordained, that all fugitives and exiles should be allowed to return to France; that no one should be suffered to molest them, so long as they lived without giving offence; and that the partisans of the new religion, might assemble, unarmed, without the walls of the several towns, in order to perform divine worship, under the im

mediate inspection of a magistrate. But, a number of protestants having convened within the small town of Vassi, in Champagne, through which the duke of Guise happened, at that time, to pass, provoking language was used, towards some officers, sent by him to remonstrate on this infringement of the royal license, and a riot ensued, in which nearly two-hundred of the reformers were slain.

The news of the massacre of Vassi, as it was called, by the Hugonots, was soon spread over Europe; and the party endeavoured, by means of this event, to render the duke of Guise an object of general execration.

The prince of Condé, with the admiral Coligni and his friends, repaired to Orleans; where they were soon afterwards joined by all the Hugonots of Paris. That city became a second capital in the kingdom. The prince of Condé was chosen head of the association, and couriers were despatched, to the different provinces, (which contained twenty-five-hundred Hugonot churches) to request a speedy supply of men and money. The inhabitants of Beaujenci, Blois, Tours, Augers, and Mans; Poitiers, Bourges, and Angouleme; immediately flew to arms, and massacred or expelled the clergy, and all the catholics who made any resistance; and, as there were many rich abbeys and monasteries, in these towns, the Hugonots found means, not only to maintain the garrisons, but to pour considerable sums into the military chest of the prince of Condé.

In Guienne, the royal forces were commanded by Blaise de Montluc. In Dauphiné, where the revolution was almost general, the reformers were headed by the Baron des Andrets. His very menaces terrified the city of Grenoble; which ejected its catholic partisans, and destroyed the images and altars of the churches. All the other towns of Dauphiné, except Embrun and Arainçon, followed this example. His name, already terrible, became, every day, more dreadful, by his actions. When Monbrizon was taken, and the castle capitulated, he drenched the streets with blood; and precipitated, or made several of the soldiers, together with the governor, throw themselves from the summit of a tower. One of the unfortunate captives, whom he had ordered to leap from the top of a precipice, ran twice to the brink, and then stopped. Des Andrets reproved him, for his slowness, and asked him why he should take two runs, when his companions had taken only one:—"Brave, as you are, baron," replied the

soldier, "I'll give you ten runs to it;"—an unexpected answer, which extorted a smile from the baron, and saved the man's life.

In Champagne and Picardy, the catholics prevailed, and the protestants were massacred, without mercy; in return for the cruelties exercised, by them, in other parts, and for the plunder and profanation of the churches. In Touraine, the peasants committed every species of depredation; and, after tearing out the eyes of a protestant minister, they burned him, at a slow fire.

Such, are the effects of sectarian presumption, and an overweening confidence of opinion. Attached to our preconceptions, averse to a rational examination—without judgment, without reason, without reflection—we condemn the religious tenets of others, whose minds are formed by the same creator, as our own.

The taking of Rouen, by the royalists, which was retarded, for some time, by a reinforcement of English troops, and is computed to have been attended with the destruction of four-thousand men, on each side, was followed by the death of the king of Navarre; who was mortally wounded, in the siege: nor was there a smaller waste of human lives in the battle of Dreaux; where the constable Montmorenci, and the prince of Condé, fell into the hands of their respective enemies, after being both wounded and unhorsed. On the captivity of the latter, the command of the protestant army, was conferred upon the admiral Coligni, (a nephew of Montmorenci,) an officer alike distinguished for his ability and valour, and entire devotion to his party.

On the eighth of February, the city of Orleans was 1563. besieged, by the duke of Guise; and on the nineteenth, he was mortally wounded, by an assassin. He survived the stroke only six days; during which interval, he displayed the most dignified composure, and manly fortitude; which justified the representation given of his death, by the catholic authors, as worthy of a Christian hero.

Both parties had been unfortunate, in the loss of officers, and both seemed equally inclined to return the sword within its scabbard. After various conferences, a treaty was, at length, concluded. A more limited rule of toleration, was now accepted, by the Hugonots. In all fiefs, held directly of the crown, the barons and nobility were allowed the public exercise of the protestant religion, for themselves and

their vassals. In other fiefs, the proprietors, when they did not reside in towns or villages, were allowed the same liberty, in their own houses. In the city of Paris, and in all other places, not specified, they were prohibited to meet publicly; but private liberty of conscience was universally allowed them.

Nothing now remained, for the perfect restoration of tranquillity, but the expulsion of the English, from Havre de Grace. Elizabeth testified her chagrin at the treaty of Orleans, (which had been concluded, with the Hugonots, without consulting her, or any other of their allies) by demanding, from France, the restitution of Calais; and declaring, that she was entitled to keep possession of Havre, until that important article of the general peace, was fulfilled. The French court replied, that a clause, in the same treaty, obliged her to commit no act of hostility against France, during the space of eight years; at the expiration of which time, the restitution of Calais, or a pecuniary redemption, had been, on that condition, promised.

On the fifteenth of July, the French troops encamped before Havre. The English garrison, commanded by the earl of Warwick, consisting of about seven-thousand men, had been already thinned, by a pestilential distemper: the heat of the weather, and a scarcity of provisions, increased the fatal effects of this dreadful disorder, and reduced Warwick to the necessity of capitulating, on the honourable condition of retiring, with the remainder of his forces; and, in the ensuing year, all matters of difference, between the two countries, were settled, by a treaty of peace.

1565. No contentions are so difficult to appease, as disputes concerning religion. It is a subject, upon which there can be no compromise. The king was soon tormented with the alternate complaints of catholics and protestants. The people of Burgundy objected to the extension of the late edict of toleration, to their province. The protestants preferred a general complaint of the violent opposition, made, in various parts, to its establishment; and of the injurious treatment which they experienced. These oppositions were not disagreeable, to the court. They were used as a pretext, for rendering the late edict palatable to the catholics; and, for this purpose, another was passed, in which the liberty of the protestants was considerably retrenched. This act of
1567. injustice, united with the fear of the Hugonots, on account of a recent interview, at Bayonne, between

the Spanish and French courts, and others, occasioned by the march of the duke of Alva, along the frontiers of France, into the Low Countries, accelerated the renewal of civil war. The security of the administration, at this period, is the more remarkable, as the frequent warnings received by them, ought to have put them upon their guard. It is said, that Catherine, whose observations were directed chiefly towards Coligni's motion, was the more deceived, by the report of one of her spies, with respect to the manner in which she saw him employed, at Chatillon. Clad in a homely frock, with a pruning knife in his hand, the admiral had mounted one of the trees in his orchard; and appeared like the peaceful inhabitant of the rural shades, rather than one who was then preparing the thunderbolts of war.

The queen of England deemed this a fit opportunity for discovering her inclination to support the Hugonots; and renewed her old demand of the restitution of Calais. But, to this unexpected request, France refused to accede. A bold attempt of the protestant chiefs, to seize the person of the king, was viewed as a signal, by the leaders of both parties, to collect their forces. The first conflict occurred in the plains of St. Dennis; in which, the old constable, Montmorenci, received a wound, which caused his death. Disdaining to surrender, when required, he dashed the pommel of his sword, which was broken, in his adversary's face, and knocked out several of his teeth: when a pistol-shot, from behind, gave him a mortal wound, and he fell, bleeding, to the ground. At no great distance, and almost at the same instant, the prince of Condé's horse being wounded, and falling with him, it was with difficulty that he could extricate himself from the surrounding danger. The battle was ended by the approach of night. The intrepid bravery of the prince of Condé's troops, was witnessed by the Ottoman ambassador, who had taken his station in an adjoining tower; and his surprise was testified, by exclaiming, "If my master had only two-thousand of these white scarfs, at the head of his several armies, the world could not stand against him for two years."

On the death of Montmorenci, the duke of Anjou, a brother of the king, was appointed lieutenant general of France.

The banners of civil discord, which had been in-
1563. cased by the peace of Longjumeau, were, soon after-

wards, unfurled. Scarcely three months had elapsed, before a disposition was evinced, by the court, to renew the war. Catherine, who delighted in fraud and dissimulation, laid a plan for seizing the persons of the prince of Condé and the admiral, who had retired to their respective estates; but, having been warned of their danger, they effected their escape, and fled towards Rochelle.

By the speedy arrival of the queen of Navarre, with her infant son, Henry, the foundation of a firmer association seemed to be laid, and the protestants prepared for war, with more than usual confidence.

The duke of Anjou's army now consisted of twenty-thousand foot, and four-thousand horse. The protestants, besides the troops in garrison, mustered, in the field, eighteen-thousand infantry, and three-thousand horse. Though in the midst of winter, they took the field, and many brave men were killed, in the sieges of Sancerre and St. Michael.

1569. At the opening of the campaign, in the ensuing spring, conspicuous valour was displayed, on both sides, in the battle of Jarnac. The gallant Hugonot general, La Nouë, having been taken prisoner, his division was rallied, by D'Andelot; who, with undaunted courage, advanced to the charge. This daring commander, after this short exhortation to his men—"Act now, as I do"—was seen, immediately, on closing with the enemy, to lay hold of the beaver of the duke of Monsaleuz's helmet, with one hand, and, with the other, to discharge a pistol in his face; which laid him dead upon the ground. It was then, that a courier was despatched, to the prince of Condé, with intelligence of the situation of the van. That gallant commander took the brave but unfortunate resolution of hastening to the assistance of the admiral, with a choice body of cavalry, while the remainder of his army were directed to follow him, with all possible expedition. Just as he was giving orders to dash forward, the duke of Rochefoucaud's horse reared, and fractured the bone of the prince's leg. Superior to pain, with an undaunted countenance—"Remember," said he, "nobility of France, that Louis of Bourbon this day verifies his motto, and esteems the condition in which he now goes to encounter the enemy, for the sake of his religion, of you, and of France, a circumstance not unfavourable to his renown."—After a charge, that exceeded any of his former instances of resolution, he was attacked, in flank, by the

duke of Anjou's main body, by which, his slender battalion was overwhelmed; when, thrown from his horse, which was wounded, and able only to raise himself upon one knee, from the ground, he surrendered himself to D'Argens; to whom, he delivered his sword. Being placed under a tree, Montesquieu, captain of the duke of Anjou's Swiss guard, coming up, shot him, through the head, with a pistol: a brutal assassination, perpetrated, it is supposed, by the instigation of the duke himself.

The moment the queen of Navarre was informed of the event of the battle of Jarnac, she hastened to Cognac, with the two Henrys—her son, the prince of Bearn, and the young Condé—the one fifteen years of age, the other sixteen.—The prince of Bearn, (afterwards Henry IV.) was now declared the head of the protestant party: but, on account of his youth, the command was given to Coligni.

Depressed, by the loss of their intrepid chief, at Jarnac, the hopes of the protestants were revived, by the junction of the duke of Deux-Ponts, with a formidable army of German auxiliaries; amounting to thirteen-thousand.

The battle of Montcoulour was the only conflict, of four regular engagements, that had now been fought, in which the protestants were completely vanquished. The catholic army amounted to twenty-seven-thousand; the protestant, to eighteen-thousand: Coligni was severely wounded, and nearly six-thousand of his soldiers perished in the field. A body of catholic Germans, led by the Rhingrave, endeavoured to break his line of foot. Coligni led on some French arquebuseers, to the charge. The Rhingrave turned, and faced him, and both of them advancing nearly thirty paces before their troops, discharged, at the same instant, their pistols, at each other. The admiral's jaw was shattered, by his opponent's shot, while his own laid his adversary dead upon the ground; and he concealed the hurt he had received, until, being almost suffocated, by the blood, he allowed himself to be led off the field.

It was the peculiar character of Coligni, that he acquired fresh fortitude, in adversity; and, that his spirit became emboldened, in proportion to the increase of danger. He immediately sent off despatches to England, to the protestant princes in Germany, and to the Swiss cantons; which, while they lessened the amount of his disasters, implied a want of assistance. It was resolved to garrison the three

towns of Niort, Angouleme, and St. Jean D'Angeli; and the chief commanders conducted the two young princes, with the remains of the army, to Rochelle.

1570. Disappointed of fixing his head-quarters in Guienne, the admiral undertook, in the midst of winter, to traverse the kingdom, by a march from Montauban, through Languedoc, to the mouth of the Rhone; and thence, along the course of that river, and of the Saone, to the entrance of Burgundy, and the head of the Seine; and, after pillaging fifty, and burning a hundred places, in a march of more than four-hundred French leagues, his army being reduced to fewer than five-thousand men, yet, with this small number he forced peace to themselves and to France, by defeating the marshal De Cosse, at Arnay-le-Duc, with thirteen-thousand.

A treaty was concluded, in the month of August, at St. Germain-en-Laye. Besides the public exercise of the protestant religion, unconfined by any restrictions, protestants were to be admitted into all employments and dignities, civil and military; and, in any process before the provincial parliament, were to have the privilege of excepting, without adducing any reason, against a certain number of judges, in each chamber. But, what distinguished this treaty of pacification, from every preceding edict, was, the assignment of the four cities of Rochelle, Cognac, Montauban, and La Charité, to the protestants; to be held by them, for the security and fulfilment of the articles of peace, for two years.

Such, was the conclusion of the third civil war, and the nature of the peace, obtained by the firmness of the protestants.

Soon after this peace, Charles united himself to the arch-dutchess Elizabeth, daughter of the emperor, Maximilian the Second; an amiable princess; who, with the hand, obtained not the heart of her royal consort; which had been long engaged to his mistress, the beautiful Mary Touchet.

The advantageous terms of the treaty, and the solemn professions, made by Catherine and Charles, to maintain it inviolably, did not soon throw the protestant leaders off their guard. Experience had taught them circumspection. They did not hope to find security, where they had so often found deceit. They kept together, in a body, and chose Rochelle as a place of retreat. But the king appeared peculiarly anxious to remove every subject of discontent. When intel

ligence was received, that the protestants, at Rouen, had been attacked, by the soldiers, as they were going to their place of worship, Charles directly proceeded to punish the offenders.

Of the sincerity of these proceedings, the proposed marriage of the king's sister, with Henry, the young king of Navarre, (formerly the prince of Bearn) and the alleged design of entering into a war with Spain, seemed to afford plain and incontestable evidence. Charles, indeed, expressly declared, that he bestowed his sister to the king of Navarre, with a view to render the connubial tie a general bond, to attach all the Hugonots to his government, and to banish their apprehensions concerning the immutability of his pacific edicts.

In consequence of this nuptial contract, and a connexion which Charles affected to enter into with England, when queen Elizabeth was solicited to marry the duke of Anjou, the intercourse of the protestant chiefs with the court, became more unreserved and frequent. The admiral, the king always addressed by the endearing appellation of father: and one-hundred-thousand livres were assigned him, as an indemnification for his losses, in the late war*.—"Have I not," said Charles, "acted my part well?"—"Admirably," replied his mother: "you have begun, but you must continue, to the end."—"I will not stop," returned Charles, "until I bring them all into the toils."

1572. The net was almost ready to be drawn. The marriage of the king of Navarre, with Margaret of Valois, was, at length, completed; and, according to agreement, was neither wholly in the catholic, nor the protestant form. For several days, there was given a variety of magnificent entertainments. The dark designs of Catherine and Charles were now brought to a crisis. Their scheme of alluring the principal leaders of the protestants to Paris, had, by means of the nuptials, and the delusion of the admiral, succeeded, almost beyond their hopes. Above seven-hundred of the nobility and gentry of that persuasion, the flower of their chieftains, were now lodged in the city or suburbs, disarmed and unprepared.

The assassination of Coligni, was the first stroke of vengeance resolved on, by the detestable junto of Catherine and

* A livre is equal in value to about eighteen cents.

ner son; and its execution was assigned to the duke of Guise. The admiral, on his return from the Louvre, to his own apartments, had to pass by the cloister of the church of St. Germain L'Auxerrois. At this place, within the house of Ville-Mar, who had been preceptor to the duke of Guise, Maurevel, the assassin employed by the duke, had taken his station; and, in the morning of the twenty-second of August, as the admiral passed the house, at a slow pace, (being engaged in reading a paper that had been presented to him, on the way) Maurevel fired his arquebuss at him, loaded with two bullets; one of which tore a finger off his right hand, and the other lodged deep in his left arm.

The general massacre of the protestants, which had been long meditated, by the court, was fixed for the twenty-fourth; which was the feast of St. Bartholomew; and the duke of Guise was again called upon, to act his part. The great bell at the palace was to be sounded, as a signal to begin. But Charles paused, for a moment, in this work of blood. As the fatal hour drew near, he is said to have been goaded by the stings of remorse; and to have betrayed such fear and irresolution, that all the art of his mother was required, to extort from him an order for the assassins to commence: overcome, however, by her importunities, and her impious exhortations, his eyes glared with rage, and he pronounced the horrid mandate, "Go on, and let none remain, to reproach me with the deed."

The duke of Guise immediately issued forth, to perpetrate the murder of Coligni. The clamour, which had been faintly heard, at first, having increased, and several shots having been fired, under his window, the admiral arose from his bed, and covered himself with his night-gown; when he was soon convinced, by his attendants, who hurried to his chamber, that the worst was to be feared. The pale looks and trembling gestures of his domestics, announced the immediate fate that they expected.—"This instant,"—exclaimed one of them—"God calls us, to meet our death."—"It is enough," said Coligni, "that I know it."—He leaned, for some moments, against the wall, in prayer; then, with a countenance undismayed,—"Away," said he, "my friends; save yourselves, if possible: let not your unprofitable stay be mourned by your wives and children."—In a few minutes, the door was burst open, and seven armed ruffians entered the apartment. Besme, a German, stepped before the rest,

and, flourishing his sword, exclaimed, "Art thou Coligni?" "I am," replied the admiral, with a steady voice and firm countenance; "and you, young soldier, ought to respect my gray hairs. But, come on," continued he, to Besme, "do what thou wilt, thou canst shorten my life but little."—At that instant, he received the villain's sword in his breast; which rather courted, than shunned the blow; and yielded up his life, without a groan.—Immediately, the alarm-bell was rung, and the populace were roused to spread the massacre. Many nobles, of distinguished valour, were soon despatched. The king of Navarre and prince of Condé, were awakened, by a band of soldiers, who, rushing into their chamber, in the palace, rudely commanded them to dress themselves, and attend the king, unarmed.—"I pardon you," exclaimed the infuriated, Charles, "on this condition, that you instantly renounce that impious faith, which contradicts mine, and teaches you to insult my sovereign power." The king of Navarre's renunciation was given, in a low, embarrassed voice; but the prince of Condé boldly expressed his indignation, and declared, that the fear of death should never render him an apostate.

For three days, the massacre was continued, in the city, with unabated fury; during which, six-thousand protestants, of whom five-hundred were nobility, fell a sacrifice to religious intolerance. But this horrid tragedy was not confined to Paris. At Meaux, Orleans, Troyes, Lyons, Bourges, Rouen, and Toulouse, and many other places, the cruelty of the Parisians was emulated, and thirty-thousand persons were murdered, in cold blood.

To the count of Charnay, it was owing, that only one protestant was killed in Burgundy. But the answer, made by the viscount D'Ortez, governor of Bayonne, to Charles, who had written a private letter to him, is worthy of particular notice: "You must not, on this point, expect obedience from me. I have signified the orders, sent by your majesty, to the inhabitants of the town, and the troops in the garrison; and I found them ready to act like good citizens, and brave soldiers, but not one hangman amongst them all."

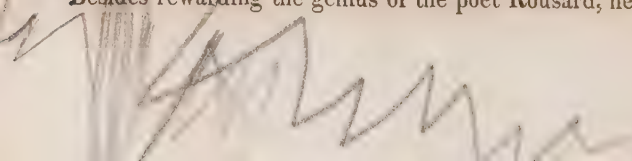
The court now believed that they had effected the total extinction of the protestant party. But they were soon made sensible of their error. Though massacre had diminished their number, persecution served to invigorate their

spirit. The royal army gathered no laurels, in the war that immediately ensued; while the Hugonots seemed fearless of death, in every shape, and displayed extraordinary feats of gallantry and valour. At the siege of Dumfront, one of their officers having received a shot in his head, which deprived him of speech, he went into the nearest tent, and made a sign that he wished for pen and paper; and, sitting down, to write a letter to his mistress, with his blood, he died, the moment it was finished. Colombiere, to whom the defence of that place had been committed, having been urged to surrender, in order to avoid the slaughter of a general assault—"I shall teach my companions," said he, "how they ought to die;" and, accordingly, he took his station in the middle of the breach, now seventy paces in length, with his two sons, one on each side of him; the elder being twelve, the younger ten years old.—"In yielding my life, to God," said he, to those around him, "I, at the same time, offer to him, what I hold dearest in the world. It is better for them to die, undishonoured and uncorrupted, with their father, than to fall into the hands of those who may pervert them."—A ball having pierced his head, he soon fell, and the breach was abandoned, by his followers; but compassion moved the catholic soldiers, to save the lives of his forlorn offspring.

1574. The king had, for a considerable time, been afflicted with a most painful disorder. There now appeared unequivocal symptoms of approaching death. The conflict between his youthful strength, and the fatal power of his disease, threw him into convulsions; during which, the blood issued through the pores, in almost every part of his body; and, after, it is said, expressing the deepest remorse for the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and other acts of violence, to which he had been instigated by his mother, he expired, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign.

He was entombed, with little ceremony; and, before the funeral convoy reached St. Dennis, it was deserted by all the followers, except Brantome, and four other gentlemen of the bed-chamber, and the guard of archers.

Charles had a taste for the fine arts; which appears incompatible with the cruelty and moroseness of his temper. Besides rewarding the genius of the poet Rousard, he wrote



verses in his praise, not inferior to those of the master that he had admired; and also composed a book, on his favourite amusement of the chase.

He caused a smith's forge to be erected, in his palace; where he amused himself with the fabrication of gun-barrels, horse-chains, and other pieces of smith's work. He piqued himself, on his talent of imitating, with the greatest nicety, the various coins in circulation, such as the crown, the double ducat, and the testoon. When he showed one of these to the cardinal Lorraine, for his approbation, "Ah, Sir," said the prelate, "you can do whatever you please—you always carry your pardon in your own pocket."

In the last year of the reign of Charles IX., the revenues did not amount to nine millions of livres.

HENRY III.

1574—1589.

Not having had any male issue, Charles was succeeded by his next brother, the duke of Anjou, who now returned from Poland; to the throne of which kingdom, he had been elected, in the preceding year.

In his early youth, Henry had displayed uncommon abilities: his manners were insinuating, his person graceful, his countenance beautiful; and the people regarded, with the most partial anticipation, the hero of Jarnac and Moncontour. He was now in his twenty-third year. But his unbecoming deportment, as a king, but ill corresponded with his firmness in the field; and his subjects soon discovered a monarch, irresolute, inconstant, indolent, and voluptuous, mingling devotion with sensuality, and alternately governed by the licentious minions of his court, and by bigoted priests, who assumed the direction of his conscience.

He established fraternities of penitents, in the South, distinguished from each other, by the colours of white, blue, and black; and has been seen assisting, barefooted, at their processions, his body covered with sackcloth, and his head masked in a capouch.

One of his earliest resolutions, was to prosecute the war against the Hugonots. The marshal D'Ainville, brother of Montmorenci, informed of his determination, boldly erected the standard of opposition, and supported, in Languedoc, the principles of Calvin: and the prince of Condé, together

with the king of Navarre, (who now abjured the catholic religion) joined the forces of the confederates; while the duke of Alençon, presumptive heir to the crown, inflamed by a wild ambition, deserted the court, and armed against his brother. But, the peace which Henry was, in consequence, forced to subscribe, he was not long allowed to observe. Irritated by the favourable conditions granted to the Calvinists, the Roman Catholics formed themselves into a combination, called the Holy League; and chose, for their protectors, the pope and the king of Spain. Though sensible of the degradation, Henry declared himself the head of this confederacy; and, by the importunity of the leaguers, was soon compelled to rescind the late edict of pacification.

1581. Open hostilities between the two religious sects, were repeatedly suspended, by treaties; which, as they were made without faith, were broken without hesitation. Nor was it alone in France, that religious rancour had kindled the flames of civil war. They burned, with not less violence, in the Netherlands; where the unrelenting Philip, seconded by the congenial inclinations of the duke of Alva, had consigned numbers of his Flemish subjects to exile, torture, and a cruel death. The retreat of the duke of Orange into Germany, induced them to invite, to their assistance, the duke of Anjou; who repaid the honour conferred upon him, by the most signal acts of treachery and desertion.

1584. The death of the duke of Anjou disconcerted, but did not extinguish, the daring projects of the house of Lorraine. The three brothers, the duke and cardinal of Guise, and the duke of Mayenne, openly placed themselves at the head of the league; and, inflaming the people with the dread of an heretical sovereign, avowed their resolution to transfer the pretences of the king of Navarre, now presumptive heir of the throne, to his uncle, the cardinal of Bourbon, a zealous catholic; but who, incapable, from age and infirmities, of holding the reins of government himself, was to deliver them into the hands of the duke of Guise. A council of sixteen citizens of Paris, nominated by the duke, insulted their sovereign, and filled the streets with confusion. D'Ainville, who, by the death of his brother, had become marshal Montmorenci, assuming, in Languedoc, a tone of independence, declared himself the head of a third party,

attached to the ancient constitution, in church and state; and the king's favourite, the duke of Joyeuse, accompanied by the flower of the French nobility, was defeated and slain, by the king of Navarre's troops, at Coutras.

1587. The prince of Condé soon afterwards expired, at St. Jean D'Angeli, in consequence of poison; the administering of which, was imputed to his consort, whose innocence was, however, vindicated, by a public trial.

1588. Henry at length determined upon the death of the duke of Guise. Grillon, who commanded the royal guards, was first solicited, to strike the fatal blow; but, with a dignity of mind, equal to his valour, he replied, that his rank and office allowed him not to play the executioner. "I will challenge the duke," continued he, "and, if permitted, endeavour to kill him, fairly, with my sword." But the king's purpose was not changed, by this refusal. He fixed upon Loignac, the first gentleman of his bed-chamber; who readily accepted the commission, and was joined by a select number of Gascons, who had been introduced for the immediate protection of the king's person. As the duke entered the cabinet of the king, through a long and gloomy passage, he was assailed, by their numerous daggers: six poniards were plunged, at once, into his bosom, and, exclaiming, with a deep groan, "My God, have mercy on me," he fell, breathless, upon the floor.

His brother, the cardinal of Guise, was involved in his destruction; and Catherine soon afterwards died, of a severe indisposition, in the seventieth year of her age; exhorting Henry, in her last moments, to reconcile himself to the princes of his blood, particularly to the king of Navarre; and to restore the tranquility of France, by allowing a free exercise of the protestant religion.

The king was soon convinced how necessary it was to adopt the dying councils of his mother. After the murder of the Guises, the crowd that attended him to Blois, hastily dispersed; the multitude abhorred him; the majority of his nobles combined against him; and the clergy publicly reviled him. All zealous catholics were armed against him; the doctors of the Sorbonne absolved his subjects from their allegiance; the duke of Mayenne, brother to the late duke of Guise, was appointed lieutenant general of France; while pope Sixtus V. fulminated his thunders against the assassins

of the latter, and involved the king in the sentence of excommunication.

1589. But, a ray of hope broke in upon Henry, from the attachment of the princes of the blood: a reconciliation was effected with the king of Navarre; and, on the last day of July, after a series of brilliant achievements, they invested the capital of France.

Paris must soon have been compelled to acknowledge the authority of her sovereign, had not the punishment which the citizens had so long provoked, been arrested, by the dagger of an assassin.

James Clement, a Jacobin friar, of strong passions, but weak intellects, had readily listened to the treasonable discourses, daily thundered, by the popular preachers, from their pulpits; and, perhaps incited by persons of superior rank, he determined, at one murderous stroke, to extinguish the enemy of the pope, and of the catholic religion. With a passport, procured under false pretences, and a letter, forged by president Harlay, at that time confined in the Bastile, he set out, from Paris, for St. Cloud, the royal quarters: on the road, he met the attorney general, and, informing him that he had some important intelligence, to communicate to the king, in person, that officer engaged to procure him an audience of Henry. The next morning, he was accordingly introduced to the king, to whom he presented his letters; but, while Henry was occupied in their perusal, Clement suddenly plunged a knife, that he had concealed in his sleeve, into the body of his unhappy sovereign. The wounded monarch instantly drew it out, and twice struck with it, at the assassin; the attorney general, with a blow of his sword, extended him upon the floor, and the royal guards immediately despatched him.

Repeated faintings soon advised the king of his approaching end; and he prepared to meet it, with a fortitude and composure, worthy of his exalted station. He summoned, to his presence, the king of Navarre; whom he tenderly embraced, and declared his lawful successor; and expired, the next morning, in the sixteenth year of his reign, and the thirty-ninth of his age.

In him, was finally extinguished the house of Valois; after having reigned two-hundred-and-sixty-one years.

The reign of Henry III., though turbulent, produced,

nevertheless, some advantage to the nation. Impoverished by luxury, the nobles were desirous of selling a part, or sometimes the whole of their lands; and the commons, enriched by the gradual progress of commerce and industry, obtained, at this time, the privilege of purchasing their estates, but without their titles, or any feudal jurisdiction. Thus, a great part of the lands of the kingdom passed into the hands of the commons, without transferring, to them, the dangerous power of the aristocracy; a circumstance equally advantageous to the crown, and beneficial to the people.

It was in this reign, that post-offices were first established, by royal authority, in France. The university of Paris, being formerly the only great seminary of learning, in the kingdom, and having a great number of students resorting to it, from every part of the country; for their convenience, employed regular messengers, whose business was not only to bring, for them, clothes, silver, and gold, but likewise to carry bags of law-proceedings, informations, and inquests; to conduct all sorts of persons, indifferently, to and from Paris; find them both horses and diet; and carry letters and parcels for the public. The university never had any fund or support, except that arising from the post-office. In the year 1576, the king appointed messengers to travel over the same routes, with the same rights and privileges as his predecessors had granted to the university of Paris; which at length engrossed the whole business of the kingdom.

HENRY IV

1589—1610.

THIS prince, now in his thirty-fifth year, was descended from Robert, count of Clermont, the sixth son of Louis IX. Robert had married the heiress of the barony of Bourbon; and the crown devolved, by legitimate succession, upon his descendant, Henry IV., after having been possessed, by the elder branches of the family of Capet, three-hundred-and-twenty years.

But, with the right, Henry can not be said, at this time, to have enjoyed the possession, of the crown. He was, indeed, at the head of a numerous army; but the greater part

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of his troops, as well as of his subjects, were catholics; his capital was in the hands of a faction, formidable by their numbers, and daring in their designs; his treasury was empty; the most fertile provinces of France, acknowledged the authority of the league: and, though aided by the constant friendship of Elizabeth, he was opposed, with inveterate hostility, by Philip, as much the enemy of the protestant, as the queen of England of the catholic religion.

It is not our intention, to attempt even a faint outline of the long series of military operations, by which the first nine years of this memorable reign, were distinguished. Enough has already been detailed, in the preceding reign. Aided by the young Coligni, the prince of Conti, Montmorenci, and other officers of merit, and opposed by the duke of Mayenne, his nephew the duke of Guise, marshal Biron, count de Brissac, and many more active commanders, amongst the French nobility, Henry showed himself less politic and skilful, than active and valiant, in the field. Too readily extending his clemency to leaders, by whom he had been most violently opposed, and not unfrequently betrayed, he thus cherished a rebellion, which a monarch of less splendid talents, but of better judgment, would easily have crushed: and, while he forgave the treason of one perfidious noble, he encouraged others to prolong the bloody contest, until all hopes of their success had vanished, and thousands of his devoted subjects had fallen, to rise no more.

The duke of Mayenne assumed the supreme administration of affairs, at Paris, and proclaimed, as king, the cardinal of Bourbon; then, a prisoner to Henry, under the title of Charles X. But, in the following year, this competitor sunk into the grave; expressing, in his last moments, his regard for his successful rival, and consciousness of the interested views of those who had tried to elevate himself to the throne.

The king's forces were still less numerous than those of the league; but the deficiency in their number, was compensated by their valour. He attacked the duke of Mayenne, at Ivry, and gained a complete victory over him, though supported by a select body of Spanish troops. Henry's behaviour, on this occasion, was truly heroic. "My lads," said he, to his soldiers, "if you should lose sight of your

colours, rally towards this,"—pointing to a large white plume, worn by him, in his hat:—"you will always find that in the road to honour."

1593. The progress of the Spanish arms, though directed by the great genius of the prince of Parma, had yet been attended by no permanent advantage; and Philip now endeavoured to secure, in his family, the crown of France, the chief object of his ambition. He had prevailed upon the duke of Mayenne, to assemble the states, at Paris; and the duke of Feria, the Spanish ambassador, endeavoured to persuade the deputies, to place, upon the throne, Isabella, the daughter of his royal master, as the nearest relative of Henry III. But, while the king of Spain and the catholic chiefs, were bewildered in a labyrinth of negotiations, both were surprised, by an event, as important, as it was unexpected. Henry had beheld, with anxiety, the assembly of the states, and dreaded the intrigues of the duke of Mayenne, with the court of Spain. The most distinguished of the protestant leaders, and his favourite Rosni, afterwards better known by the title of duke of Sully, exhorted him to consult the happiness of his subjects, and to relinquish a faith, which he could maintain only amidst scenes of blood and devastation. In consequence of this advice, Henry heard mass at St. Dennis, read aloud his confession of the catholic faith, and declared his resolution constantly to maintain and defend it. But, though Sully, always attentive to the interests of the kingdom, had prevailed upon his master to become a catholic, to please his catholic subjects of France, yet when solicited himself to abandon the protestant tenets, he firmly refused; and replied to the pope, who artfully pressed him to enter upon the right way—"I never shall cease to pray for the conversion of your holiness."

The tergiversation of Henry, while it alienated the confidence of the protestants, did not ensure the submission of his catholic subjects. The elements of civil commotion, continued to be excited, by the court of Rome. Clement VIII. refused to admit the ambassadors of Henry, or to relieve him from the sentence of excommunication. Alarmed at the intelligence, that the king had entered the pale of the catholic church, the duke of Mayenne and the Spanish ministers resumed their intrigues, with redoubled vigour. They represented his sudden change of religion, as a politic device, to defeat the election of a catholic prince; and per-

suaded a number of their adherents to swear, that they would not acknowledge Henry, as their king, until his conversion was ratified, by the pope. A happy incident, however, soon occurred, in favour of the king. Summoned, by the disorders of Picardy, to that province, 1594. the duke of Mayenne intrusted the government of Paris to the count de Brissac; who immediately entered into a negotiation with Henry, and agreed to admit the royal troops. While the Spanish were amused, by the arts of Brissac, one of the gates was opened to Henry and his army; who instantly took possession of the principal squares and streets. The Parisians received their sovereign with loud acclamations; the troops maintained the most exact discipline; and, amidst the revolution, the city bore the appearance of security and peace.

The daily return of his subjects to their allegiance, and the declining state of the league, inspired Henry with more vigorous councils. He publicly declared war against Spain, and entered into a treaty of alliance with the revolted inhabitants of the Spanish Netherlands; who, by the treaty of Utrecht, had laid the foundation of a free republic, under the title of the United Provinces.

Meanwhile, the enemies of Henry resolved to assail his life. When stooping, to embrace a nobleman who was presented to him, in his apartments of the Louvre, he received a stroke, from a knife, that cut his lip, and broke one of his teeth. The assassin was immediately seized. His name was John Chatel, a student of the college of the Jesuits; to the influence of whose doctrines, he attributed his atrocious attempt. He confessed, that, as Henry had not yet been absolved by the pope, he thought he might kill him, with a safe conscience. Chatel was instantly consigned to the punishment due to his crime; and the whole order of the Jesuits, were commanded, on the penalty of death, to quit the kingdom of France; an edict, which ten years afterwards, was revoked.

The absolution subsequently granted, to Henry, by the pope, and the consequent submission of the duke of Mayenne, were important circumstances, in favour of the royal authority; but the advantages arising from these, were partly 1596. counterbalanced by the loss of Calais, and soon afterwards of Amiens; both places having been taken by the Spanish troops. Amiens, the capital of Picardy, had

but lately submitted to the king of France; and the citizens, together with their ancient privileges, had obtained an exemption from being garrisoned by regular troops. Of fifteen-thousand inhabitants, who were enrolled, only a few were employed as sentinels and guards; and even these performed their duty in the most negligent manner. Their remissness had not escaped the knowledge of Portocarrero, the Spanish governor of Dourlens; an officer brave and enterprising; and who, encouraged by the vicinity of his situation, planned a scheme for surprising Amiens. With three-thousand horse and foot, he marched from Dourlens; and, concealed by the darkness of the night, reached, at dawn, a hermitage, distant from that city, about a quarter of a mile. Twelve of his most resolute soldiers, disguised as peasants, and with arms beneath their frocks, were sent forward, as soon as the gates were opened; some nuts which they carried, and affected accidentally to spill, amused the guards; a wagon which they had driven, and intentionally stopped in the gate-way, prevented the portcullis from being lowered: they fell, with fury, upon the astonished sentinels, and were soon supported by Portocarrero and his troops, who rushed forward to join them; and, after a feeble resistance, Amiens submitted to the Spanish arms.

The loss of a city, so strong, so well provided, and so near to Paris, struck Henry with consternation. He determined to postpone every other project, to the recovery of Amiens. The abilities of Sully, to whom Henry had submitted the regulation of the finances, surmounted every obstacle, and replenished his exhausted treasury: Henry himself joined the blockading army, Portocarrero was killed, in a desperate sally, and that city soon afterwards surrendered to the French.

1598. The recovery of Amiens, and the extinction of the league, discovered, to Philip, the vanity of those flattering dreams of conquest, by which he had been so long deluded. His advanced age, and broken health, warned him of his approaching end; and he was unwilling to leave his inexperienced successor, involved in a dangerous war. Nor was peace less desirable to Henry. The mediation of Clement was accepted; a congress was held, by the plenipotentiaries of France and Spain, at Vervins, a town of Picardy; and, after difficulties, which the zeal of Clement was successfully employed in removing, a treaty of peace

was signed; by which, Henry obtained restitution of Calais, and all the towns of France, acquired, by Philip, with so much blood and treasure.

No kingdom could be more wretched than France, at the peace of Vervins. The crown was loaded with debts and pensions; the country was barren and desolated; the people poor and miserable; and the nobles, from a long habit of rebellion, rapine, and disorder, had lost nearly all sense of justice, or allegiance. Happily, France was favoured with a king, equally capable and willing to remedy these evils. But he stood in need of an able and upright minister, with whom he might consult, on the most important matters of state; and such an assistant he found in de Rosni; whom, to add weight to his measures, he created duke of Sully.

This nobleman seemed formed to be the minister of Henry IV. Alike brave in the field, and penetrating in the cabinet, he was more cool and persevering than the king himself, whose volatility and quickness of thought, did not permit him to attend long to any one object. By his prudent measures, Sully paid, in the space of five years, all the debts of the crown; augmented the annual revenue four-millions of livres, and had four-millions in the treasury, though he had considerably reduced the taxes.

Previous to the peace of Vervins, Henry had endeavoured to secure the tranquility of the protestants, by the celebrated edict of Nantz. It granted, to the reformed, all the favours in which they had been indulged by former princes; and added a free admission to all employments of trust, profit, and honour; also, an establishment of chambers of justice, in which the members of the two religions were equal in number; and permission to educate their children, in any of the universities, without restraint.

Tranquility and peace were thus restored, to his people; but jealousy and discord prevailed within his palace. Previous to the massacre of St. Bartholomew, it may be remembered, he had formed a politic union with Margaret, sister of Henry III; a princess who united all the opposite qualities of the family of Valois, from which she sprung. The beauty of her person inspired passion, in the coldest bosom, her genius and imagination were celebrated by all the poets of her time; she sung and played on the lute, with exquisite skill; and, in dancing, no lady of the court was her equal: but, so violent was her love of pleasure, that, at a very early

age, she had sacrificed to it her honour; the duke of Guise, and several other noblemen, had been admitted to her most intimate favours, previous to her marriage with Henry; and her hours were afterwards alternately occupied with unbridled sensuality and enthusiastic devotion.

But, she had never been able to touch the heart of Henry; to whom, indeed, her irregularities, before marriage, were not unknown. Nor was he himself exempt from reproaches, from similar habits of deviation. He had early engaged in a variety of promiscuous amours; but, for some time past, his unlimited homage was paid to the fair Gabrielle D'Estrees; upon whom, he had successively conferred the titles of marchioness of Monceaux, and dutchess of Beaufort. Two sons were the fruits of this illicit commerce; and Henry, desirous of establishing, in his offspring, the peaceable succession of the crown, even entertained thoughts of legitimating his natural children, and dividing the throne with the mistress of his affections.

1599. The pope had already consented to the dissolution of his marriage; yet, both Margaret and Clement expressed their most pointed dissatisfaction, when informed that the dutchess of Beaufort was intended to occupy her place: but, while the dutchess was feasting her imagination, with the grandeur of a royal crown, the visionary prospect was dissolved, by the hand of death.

As the effect of restraint, Clement had dissolved the conjugal tie, which united Margaret to the king: but Henry was diverted from the immediate thoughts of a second marriage, by a passion for Henrietta de Balzac, daughter of Mary Touchet, the celebrated mistress of Charles IX.; to which lady, created marchioness of Verneuil, Henry transferred that affection, which he had so lately vowed to the dutchess of Beaufort.

That artful wanton had obtained from him a promise of marriage, before she would crown his wishes. He showed the written obligation to Sully, when ready to be delivered; and this faithful servant, transported with zeal for his master's honour, tore it to pieces.—“I believe you are become a fool,” said Henry.—“I know it,” replied Sully; “and wish I were the only fool in France.”

But the remonstrances of his ministers, and his concern for the public welfare, had reluctantly extorted from him permission to negotiate a union with Mary de Medicis,

1600. niece to the grand duke of Tuscany. His own honour, and the happiness of his people, allowed him not to retract: he hastened to Lyons, to receive the hand of Mary; and, whatever might be his private feelings, he discovered to his royal consort, no emotions but those of respect and regard.

Though Henry devoted so much of his time to the female sex, yet the administration of his kingdom obtained his unwearied attention. By the integrity and industry of the duke of Sully, regularity was introduced into the finances, new manufactures were established, new colonies planted, commerce was extended, and agriculture restored: the rage of duelling was, at the same time, restrained, by new edicts; but, it could not be disguised, that the king, educated in camps, and impressed with lively notions of honour, often sanctioned by his expressions, the practice which his laws were intended to suppress.

1606. In this year, Henry experienced two narrow escapes from death. An unfortunate wretch, whom insanity had impelled against his life, was disarmed, by his attendants. In crossing the river Neuilly, the royal carriage, by the spirit of the horses, was precipitated from the ferry-boat, and overturned, in the middle of the stream; when the king, the queen, the duke of Vendome, and the princess of Conti, were exposed to most imminent danger; but were rescued, by the zeal and alacrity of their retinue; and Henry himself, after safely gaining the shore, plunged again into the river, to extricate the queen.

1607. But, while the multitude exulted at the safety of their sovereign, the royal bosom was doomed to be afflicted with those cares, which invade alike the habitation of the peasant and the prince. Cold and reserved in her temper and manner, the queen received, with indifference, the attention of her husband. The happiness which Henry found not in the company and conversation of his queen, he sought in the society of others. The arrogance of the marchioness of Verneuil, had, for some time past, been insufferable: the lively wit and amiable manners of Charlotte Montmorenci, a daughter of the constable, had insensibly kindled the fire of love within his heart. Neither time nor ambition, religion nor morality, could extinguish this fatal flame: he determined to bestow her hand upon the prince of Condé; and, by introducing her into his own family, to

enjoy, at least, the pleasure of her conversation. The marriage was celebrated at Chantilli; and drew forth an expression from the marchioness of Verneuil, that "the king had made this match, to sink the heart, and raise the head, of the prince of Condé." The passion of Henry soon burst the bounds that his prudence had prescribed. The prince desired leave to retire from court; and the peremptory refusal of the king, served only to confirm his suspicion; and, after giving way to his indignation, by the most pointed reproaches, he secretly prepared to escape, with the princess, beyond the limits of the kingdom, before the ungovernable passion of Henry had sealed his dishonour.

This design, he executed, with success. Reluctantly accompanied by his wife, he eluded the vigilance of those who had been sent to observe him, and reached Landrecy. The king immediately despatched the captain of his guards, to demand the fugitives, from the archduke; but Albert replied, that "he had never yet violated the law of nations, and that he would not begin with a prince royal of France." He immediately supplied the necessities of the prince of Condé, appointed an escort, to conduct him to Brussels, and assured him of his constant protection.

1610. The king made an unsuccessful attempt, to carry off the princess, by force. The armaments, before suggested by ambition, were probably now hastened by love. England, the independent principalities of Germany, and the United Provinces, all readily associated, with the French monarch, in the design of humbling the house of Austria.

But the final period of Henry's life, now rapidly approached; and, while he meditated enterprises the most splendid and important, his own death was planned and accomplished, by Francis Ravailiac, a native of Angouleme. When the distress of the fanatic Ravailiac, had reduced him to seek support, by imploring alms, he conceived the dark and desperate design, of mingling the miseries of a nation with his own, by arming his hand against the sovereign of France.

The morning that succeeded the coronation of the queen, had been destined for a visit to the arsenal. The king ordered his coach, and, accompanied by the duke d'Epernon, and five other noblemen, together with du Plessis Liancourt, his master of horse, determined to proceed. Vitri.

the captain of his guards, was despatched, to the palace, to hasten the preparations for the queen's entry; and the king's carriage was attended by only a small number of gentlemen, on horseback, and a few of the royal footmen. The curtains, on every side, were drawn up. In a narrow street, the coach was stopped, by the accidental meeting of two carts; the majority of the attendants instantly took a nearer way, and two only were left:—one of these went before, to clear the passage; the other went behind, to tie up his garter.—At this instant, as the king turned, to read a letter to the duke d'Epemon, he received a stroke, from a knife; and had scarcely time to exclaim, “I am wounded,” before a second, more violent, and more fatally directed, pierced his heart, and, breathing only a deep sigh, he sunk back, in the coach, a lifeless corpse.

Thus perished, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and the twenty-first of his reign, Henry IV.: to whom, has been given the rare and illustrious title of Great; with what degree of justice, the history of his actions will most properly decide. He was a brave soldier, an enlightened legislator, a kind and generous master, a warm and tender lover, a polite and obliging husband: but he contracted matrimony with a woman of blasted reputation, and stooped to apostacy, to gain a throne; his passion for the fair, too often led him to forget the prudence and dignity of the monarch: his ardent and guilty affection for the princess of Condé, in the decline of life, cast a cloud over his meridian glory; and the warmth with which he pursued, and the indiscretion with which he countenanced, the destructive rage of gaming, has been the subject of severe and general censure.

As soon as their presence of mind returned, the nobles who accompanied Henry, seized the assassin; who still supported himself on the wheel of the coach, with the bloody instrument yet reeking in his hand, as if glorying in the atrocious deed.

When Henry made excursions into the distant provinces, he used to stop the peasants whom he met, and inquire where they were going, what they sold, and what was the price. One of his attendants, expressing his surprise at such familiarity, was answered, by the monarch: “The kings of France, my predecessors, thought themselves dishonoured in knowing the value of a teston. With respect to myself, I am anxious to know what is the value of half a

denier, and what difficulty the poor people have to get it, so that they may not be taxed above their means.”

Henry introduced into France, the culture and manufacture of silk; the success of which fully realized his expectations. He had the satisfaction to see that this manufacture not only supplied the home consumption, but brought more money into the kingdom, than any of the former staples. He also established, at great expense, manufactures of tapestry and linen. The workmen for the first, he drew from the Spanish Netherlands; for the last, from the United Provinces; and, to facilitate internal commerce, and promote the accommodation of his subjects, he built the Pont-Neuf, and cut the canal of Briare, which joins the rivers Seine and Loire; and had projected the junction of the two seas, when a period was put to all his great designs.

In the latter part of his reign, the French extended their commercial enterprise to India; but they had as yet no colony in the Eastern seas. Quebec, the oldest settlement in North America, was founded by the French, in the year 1606.

Paris was a very different city, in this reign, from what it is, at the present day. It was not lighted; it had few coaches; the streets were extremely dirty, and so infested with robbers, that, by a regulation of the police, in 1609, the theatres were obliged, during the winter, to be opened at half past twelve, in the afternoon, and the plays to be finished at half past four; in order to preserve the inhabitants from the dangers to which they were exposed, by returning home in the dark.

Philip II., of Spain, died in the year 1598, and queen Elizabeth, of England, in 1603: the former was succeeded by Philip III.; the latter by James I.

LOUIS XIII.

1610—1643.

FRANCE now beheld the sceptre pass from the vigorous grasp of Henry IV., to the feeble hands of an infant. Of his three sons, by Mary de Medicis, the eldest, who now succeeded to the throne, as Louis XIII., was only in his ninth year: but, the affliction, if any felt, by the queen, on the loss of Henry, was suspended, by the more interesting

care of obtaining the regency; and her ambition was gratified, by the ready acquiescence of the parliament.

The first moments had been employed in the acquisition of power; the next, were devoted to revenge. Ravailac, whose murderous stroke had caused the untimely death of Henry, was drawn from his cell, to perish by the most exquisite torments. His bones were broken, by the executioner; his flesh was torn, by red-hot pincers; scalding lead and oil were poured upon his wounds; and his mangled body, still quivering with life, was delivered to be dismembered by four horses. But the stubborn frame resisted their utmost efforts; the indignant multitude, whose thirst of vengeance could no longer be restrained, rushing through the guards, in an instant put an end to his sufferings, by tearing him to pieces; and, with barbarous joy, they dragged his limbs, with frantic triumph, through the streets.—Amidst every effort of ingenious cruelty, inflicted by public justice, or perpetrated by the mob, he still maintained the declaration, that, impressed with the idea that the armaments of Henry were destined against the catholic church, he alone had planned, he alone was privy to the deed, to the just horror of which he was now awakened.

The former ministers of the crown, the queen received with coldness, and listened to with disapprobation. Abandoning herself, without reserve, to a fond partiality for her Italian adherents—Conchini, a poor Florentine gentleman, who had come to France, with Mary, to push his fortune, and now assumed the title of marquis of Ancre, and afterwards that of marshal; and Leonora Galigni, the favourite of the regent, whom Mary had brought with her, as a domestic; and Conchini, in order to increase his influence, had married—their united counsels, during the space of six years, ruled France, with imperious sway.

Disdaining the arts of courts, and finding that sincerity, which had been esteemed by Henry, no longer acceptable, the duke of Sully retired to his estates.

Instead of attempting to repress the dangerous ambition of the house of Austria, the regent, in order to establish her authority, determined closely to unite herself with that family; and, while the young king was contracted to the Infanta of Spain, the hand of his sister, the princess Elizabeth, was engaged to the prince of Asturias, afterwards

Philip IV. The marquis dissipated, with lavish hands, the treasures collected by the ambition of Henry, and preserved by the frugality of Sully; and prevailed upon the queen to arrest the prince of Condé; who had presumed to menace him with his indignation. The dukes of Vendome, Nevers, and Rohan, (the son-in-law of Sully) and other noblemen of honourable feelings, retired from court, and prepared to deliver themselves from the oppression of the favourite; and the public discontent was increased, by the promotion of the bishop of Luçon, afterwards the celebrated cardinal Richelieu.

1616. But Conchini at length forged the weapon of his own destruction; and drew down, upon his own head, the ruin which he designed should fall upon his enemies. He had placed about the person of the king, a young gentleman, named Luines; who insinuated himself into the favour and confidence of Louis, by the industry with which he planned, and the zeal with which he partook of his childish amusements; but, while the new favourite seemed occupied in sports and pleasures—one day with the hawks, another with the hounds—he, in private, nourished an ambition, above his rank and station. The marquis had repulsed, with contempt, his offer of alliance, by uniting his brother to the niece of Ancre; and Luines, not insensible of the suspicious disposition of the crafty Florentine, determined to provide for his own safety, by the destruction of a man, whom, from that moment, he considered as his implacable enemy. He impressed Louis with a lively dread of the aspiring Italian; and the young king at length imparted his resolution to achieve his own deliverance, and to extinguish the flames of civil discord, by Conchini's death. On the morning fixed for his destruction, the latter had entered the Louvre, surrounded by forty gentlemen, who were indebted to his liberality for their support; he was earnestly engaged in reading a letter, when Vitri, the captain of the guards, appeared, and arrested him, in the name of the king. Ancre laid his hand upon his sword: this mark of resistance, was the signal for his destruction: the command of Vitri, to kill him, was instantly obeyed; and three pistols, discharged, with unerring aim, brought him, lifeless, to the ground.

The offended pride of Luines was not satisfied, by the death of Conchini. The unfortunate Leonora was instantly secured. A judicial process commenced against her; she was charged with sorcery, and expiated, with her life, this ima-

ginary crime. Being asked, by what magical spell, she had fascinated the queen-mother, she replied—"By that superiority, which a strong mind has always, over a weak one."

In the history of another kingdom, we meet with an incident, similarly fatal, and arising from the same cause. The influence exercised over the queen-mother, by these Italians, the consequent jealousy of Louis, and the assassination of Conchini, remind us of the tragical effect of that confidence, which was so indecorously extended, just half a century before, to Rizzio, by Mary queen of Scots.

The destruction of her favourites, was attended by the disgrace of the queen-mother herself. Deprived of her guards, and divested of the insignia of royalty, she was permitted to retire to Blois: the power which had been exercised by Conchini, was transferred to Luines, with the title of duke; and the bishop of Luçon was compelled to resign the office of secretary of state.

1620. Uncommon energy was displayed, by Louis, in the numerous military operations, in which he was engaged, against his rebellious subjects. The Hugonots were not the only party that drew forth the vigour of his arms; though, by the suppression of the protestant religion, in the province of Bearne, where it had exclusively prevailed for a period of fifty years, the inhabitants of that quarter had the strongest provocation for declaring war against their sovereign.

A timely death preserved Luines from experiencing upon how sandy a foundation he had raised the edifice of his political greatness. At the head of his councils, the king now placed the cardinal de Retz and the count of Schom-

1624. berg; and, on the death of the cardinal, he was prevailed on to introduce into his councils the bishop of Luçon, now known as the cardinal Richelieu; a man destined to restore the grandeur of France, and to establish a new epoch in the reign of Louis.

"Born," says an elegant historian, "to steer the vessel of state amidst storms and quicksands, the political talents of the cardinal Richelieu, have, to the present moment, extorted the praise and admiration of posterity." [Frequently successful, and always great, in his designs, he rose, with accumulated strength, from defeat; and the ambitious prelate had no sooner exchanged the crozier for the seals, than his open and secret enemies were overwhelmed, by the torrent of his ambition.] [During eighteen years, he maintained

his ascendancy, over the jealous mind of his sovereign: the reformed, who had triumphed over the artifices of Catherine of Medicis, and the dark rage of Charles IX., were broken, by his invincible arm; and the house of Austria, defeated and depressed, was forced to yield, to his superior fortune, that which the valour and virtues of Francis I., and Henry IV., had in vain attempted."

His rivals in the cabinet were the first victims of the arts of Richelieu; and, no sooner had he established his authority at home, than he prepared to extend the terror of his name abroad. His admission into the conclave, had not served to inspire him with either zeal or awe for the court of Rome; and his contempt for the successor of St. Peter, was displayed in his instructions to expel the papal forces from the Valteline.

Transactions which arose out of a matrimonial connexion with the court of England, are not the least interesting events, in the reign of Louis. Considering every alliance below that of a king, as unworthy the prince of Wales, James I. determined never to bestow the hand of his son Charles, except on a daughter of France or Spain. With the latter court, his ambassador had opened a negotiation; but, when all measures were agreed upon, the connexion was broken, by a romantic enterprise, originally conceived with the idea of hastening the proposed alliance.

George Villiers, from an obscure condition, had been elevated, by James, to the rank and title of duke of Buckingham; and, to ingratiate himself with the son, he proposed to the prince of Wales, to break through the forms usually observed by the heirs of royalty; and, passing in disguise, to Madrid, to introduce himself, to the Infanta, as an ardent and devoted lover. Charles relished the gallantry of the proposal; a reluctant consent was extorted from his father; and the prince of Wales, accompanied by Buckingham, privately set out from London, and crossed over to Calais: they had even the temerity, in their journey, to visit the French court, in disguise; where the charms of the princess Henrietta, the sister of Louis, made a deep impression on the heart of the youthful prince.

But the volatile manners and dissolute pleasures of the duke of Buckingham, ill accorded with the gravity of the Spanish court. He determined to return, without accomplishing the object of his journey: the delay of the dispen-

sation from Rome, afforded a decent pretence; and immediately on their arrival in England, the duke prevailed upon the flexible king and prince, to break off the negotiation.

Nothing now remained, but an alliance with France. 1625. The earls of Holland and Carlisle were sent over, on this occasion, as ambassadors; and, though the portion of Henrietta was much inferior to that of the Infanta, yet the superior address of Richelieu extorted the same terms, for Louis, as had been granted to the king of Spain; and Buckingham was despatched to Paris, to escort the bride to her royal consort; who, by the death of his father, James, had ascended the throne of England, as Charles I.

But the near alliance of France, with a protestant king, did not deter the cardinal from nourishing the most fatal designs against the reformed religion. A treaty lately entered into, with the Hugonots, had been infringed, by the introduction of a royal garrison into Montpelier; their remonstrances had been disregarded or evaded, by the court; and a new subject of discontent arose, from a royal fleet, stationed at L'Orient, to guard and block up the harbour of Rochelle. A desultory war commenced. The Rochellers were defeated, at sea, by the united squadrons of France and England: but the loss of the confederates, in the action, prevented them from improving their advantage. The clamours of the English, compelled their sovereign to interfere: the mediation of the consort of Henrietta, was listened to, with respect; a peace was, at length, concluded, which confirmed the edict of Nantz; and Louis consented that his brother-in-law should guarantee, to the protestants, the articles of peace.

1627. Little confidence can be placed in the stipulations of kings. The latter treaty was not more faithfully observed, by Louis, than the former. Nor is it probable, that the pledge given, by Charles, for its performance, would have been redeemed, in favour of the Hugonots, but for the intervention of an incident, entirely unconnected with the public. When despatched to the court of Paris, for the purpose of conducting the princess Henrietta to England, the duke of Buckingham had entertained a guilty passion for the queen of France; and, in a private visit, was received by her with a reproof, that savoured more of kindness, than of anger. But, his presumption had not escaped the observation of the cardinal; whose vigilance, on this oc

casion, was excited, it is supposed, by an interest, not altogether consistent with his fidelity to his master, or his vows as a Roman Catholic priest: on the preparation of Buckingham, for a second embassy to Paris, he was informed, by a message from Louis, that he must not think of such a journey; and, although the duke reluctantly abandoned the design of proceeding, as an ambassador, he swore that he would see the queen, in spite of all the power of France; and, ever afterwards, cherished a deep resentment against Richelieu; to whose suggestions, he imputed his disappointment.

1628 Charles lent a willing ear to the wishes of his favourite. Before the mighty preparations of Richelieu, against Rochelle, could be completed, an English fleet of one-hundred sail, and an army of seven-thousand men, were equipped, for the invasion of France. But, so ill concerted were the measures of the duke, that the English were repulsed, in repeated attacks; and Buckingham himself, after the loss of two-thirds of his land troops, found it necessary to make a precipitate retreat.

To efface the dishonour of the English arms, the duke of Buckingham determined to head another expedition against the French; but, while he hastened the preparations, at Portsmouth, he was assassinated, by one Felton; who had served the duke as a lieutenant, but had been disappointed in receiving an advance in rank.

The retreat of Buckingham was the signal for action, to Richelieu. The army assembled by him, was commanded by the king, in person, and animated by the presence of the most distinguished nobles. The cardinal aspired to the reputation of a soldier, as well as of a statesman. He planned the lines of circumvallation, designed the different forts, and directed the attacks. To deprive the besieged of all succour, he formed a project, which rivals the mighty work of Alexander the Great, when besieging Tyre—that of throwing across the harbour of Rochelle, a mole, of a mile in extent. He at length beheld the stupendous work completed, and enabled to defy all the efforts of the English fleet. In vain, did the earl of Lindsay endeavour to force his way into the harbour. The mole resisted and repelled the weight of his attacks; and, hopeless of success, he abandoned the city to despair, and returned to England. The last spark of enthusiasm, which had so long inspired

the miserable inhabitants of that city, expired with his retreat. While yet his sails were in sight, they consented to surrender, at discretion; and some idea may be formed of the miseries they had endured, since, of fifteen-thousand persons originally shut up in Rochelle, four-thousand were all that now remained.

The fortune of the cardinal was conspicuous, in the moment of submission. Scarcely had the citizens opened their gates, before a tempest agitated the ocean, so violently, as to bury, in the waves, the proud structure that he had planned. Had the inhabitants persevered only a few hours longer, the fury of the storm would have overwhelmed the pride of the cardinal, and preserved their freedom.

Until the reduction of Rochelle, the protestants of France had formed a sort of *imperium in imperio*; but, after that event, they no longer constituted a distinct body in the state.

1629. Undismayed, however, by the reduction of Rochelle, the duke of Rohan still displayed the banner of revolt, in Guienne and Languedoc, and the mountains of the Cevennes. Nismes, Montauban, Castres, Privas, and Alais, still professed the principles of the reformed, and declared their resolution to seal their faith with their blood. The king assaulted the walls of Privas, compelled the governor to surrender at discretion, and devoted the inhabitants, without exception of age or sex, to the sword.

The next grand object of cardinal Richelieu, was to curtail the Austrian power. With this view, he supported the protestants of Germany, after having reduced those of France; and, a treaty of alliance was concluded with Sweden, for the purpose of humbling the emperor. The celebrated Gustavus Adolphus entered the field, at the head of thirty-thousand men; and Louis supplied him with money, to enable him to carry the war into the heart of Germany. On the sixteenth of November, the Swedish monarch was killed, at the battle of Lutzen; but the treaty was renewed with his daughter and successor, the renowned Christiana.

While hostilities in Germany were prosecuted, with great success, by the Swedish generals Torstenson, Bannier, the duke of Saxe Weimar, and other warriors of note, Louis declared war against Spain. This measure was in perfect conformity with the views of Richelieu; whose object was,

to humble both branches of the house of Austria. The war continued thirteen years against the emperor, and twenty-five against Spain; and neither the king of France, nor his minister, lived to see its termination. In the second 1636. campaign, the near approach of the Spanish army, from the Netherlands, caused great consternation, in Paris; but the duke of Orleans, only surviving brother of the king, obliged the enemy to repass the Somme.

It would be equally tedious and unprofitable, to narrate the various conspiracies and revolts of the nobles, against the minister. Amongst those who fell, by the hands of the executioner, the most distinguished were the marshal de Marillac, Henry de Montmorenci, a duke and marshal of France, the marquis of Cinq-Mars, and a son of the 1642. celebrated historian, M. de Thou. The morning on which the two latter lost their heads, brought intelligence of the surrender of Perpignan; and Richelieu apprized the king of both events, by a single and expressive line—"Your troops are in Perpignan, and your enemies in the grave."

But the grave was, at this time, yawning, to receive the cardinal himself. Exhausted in body, yet still vigorous in mind, he closed his career, at Paris, in the fifty-ninth year of his age; with a fortitude and serenity that astonished those who had beheld the sanguinary effects of his administration.

Three mighty achievements signalized the period of his government. He humbled the turbulent spirits of the great; he subdued the stubborn zeal of the Hugonots; and curbed the encroaching power of the house of Austria.

To his patronage, the "Academie Française," owes its institution; and the French language that refinement which has contributed, in no small degree, to render it a general vehicle of communication, throughout Europe.

1643. Louis now endeavoured to manage the affairs of state, himself. Mazarin, for whom the late minister had obtained a cardinal's hat, was, indeed, introduced into the council; but the only change that appeared, in public measures, was the recalling from banishment, and releasing from confinement, the most illustrious objects of Richelieu's jealousy or resentment.

The war was still prosecuted with vigour: but the success of the royal arms could not check the progress of dis-

ease. Louis had now reached the goal of his mortal race, and expired, with firm composure and resignation, in the forty-second year of his age, and on the very day in which he had completed the thirty-third of his reign.

It is not easy to estimate the character of Louis. He possessed activity and enterprise; his personal courage shone forth with superior lustre; but, though he obtained the epithet of Just, he was frequently severe as a magistrate, and cruel in the field.



CHAPTER IV.

LOUIS XIV.

1643—1715.

LOUIS the Fourteenth, son of the late king, had not yet completed his fifth year. The will of his father, by which a council of regency had been appointed, to administer the royal functions, until the infant sovereign should have reached the age of fourteen, was instantly rejected, by the parliament; and his widow, Anne of Austria, was invested with unlimited power. She soon resigned herself to the influence of cardinal Mazarin; a native of the little town of Piscina, in Italy; whose political knowledge and address, had introduced him to the confidence of Richelieu; and who now acquired that ascendancy over the mind of his royal mistress, that Richelieu had obtained over her deceased consort. Mazarin had a fine person, an easy and insinuating address, was possessed of every polite accomplishment, had an air of courtesy and kindness, was an able statesman and a finished courtier; but, in respect to virtue, honour, probity, or regard for the people, he neither pretended to them himself, nor were they attributed to him, by others.

The circumstances of Europe were favourable to the designs of France. Portugal had shaken off the Spanish yoke, and established the duke of Braganza, as John IV., upon the throne; the Catalonians still displayed the banners of revolt; the United Provinces had been cherished and protected by Henry IV. and Louis XIII.; the sceptre of Sweden was still in the hands of Christiana, whose generals maintained a successful war against the emperor of Ger-

many; while, in Great Britain, Charles I., inheriting his father's lofty ideas of prerogative, had kindled the flame of civil war, throughout that island.

The Spanish infantry, hitherto deemed invincible, was defeated at Rocroy, on the frontiers of Flanders, by Louis of Bourbon, duke d'Enghien, son to the prince of Condé; and the same general soon afterwards took Thionville, on the banks of the Mozelle; routed the imperial army, at Fribourg; and swept, with his victorious troops, Philipsburg and Metz, Oppenheim and Worms, with the several forts along the Rhine. But, his splendid career of glory, instead of exciting the gratitude, had awakened the jealousy of the court; and, by the envy of Mazarin, he was detached into Catalonia, with a feeble and ill-provided army. The death of his father, had devolved upon him the title of prince of Condé, and the admiration of the public had attached to it the epithet of Great: but, his slender force allowed him not, on that theatre, to rival his former actions; and he was compelled to retire from the walls of Lerida, which had previously been assaulted by the marshal de la Mothe Haudancourt, and the count de Grammont.

In Flanders, the duke of Orleans reduced Gravelines, Mardyke, and Courtray; and in Germany, marshal Turenne—the greatest military leader of that time—in conjunction with the Swedes, defeated the imperial generals, Montecuculli and Melander. His success influenced Spain to acknowledge the United Provinces, as free and independent states; and, by a second treaty, subscribed at Munster, the emperor, alarmed at the progress of the Swedes, consented to purchase peace, by ceding, to France, the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, with his pretensions to Pignerol, Brisac, and Alsace.

But the power and glory of France were, in the mean time, shaken to their foundation, by the rage of contending factions. The administration of Mazarin, was far from being acceptable to the public. As a foreigner, they regarded him with jealousy; and the heavy taxes which he imposed, converted that jealousy into hatred. The parliament of Paris made a stand against his requisitions, similar to that, which, in the following century, hurled the misguided Bourbons from the throne. That body refused to sanction, by a registry, the edicts for the new imposts; and the court, to enforce its authority, arrested Blancmenil, the president,

and the counsellor Broussell. This tyrannical step was the signal of instant sedition: all Paris rose in arms; and the queen, to secure her own safety, ordered the prisoners to be released.)

1649. The regent and her minister did not feel secure, at Paris. They escaped, with the infant king, to the royal palace, at St. Germain; whither, they were accompanied by the duke of Orleans; and the queen summoned to her defence, the prince of Condé. The adverse faction, who assumed the name of the *Fronde*, and maintained possession of the capital, were inspired by the intriguing spirit of the cardinal de Retz; and headed by the prince of Conti, brother of the prince of Condé, aided by the dukes of Longueville, Bouillon, and Beaufort.

But the court was still formidable, from the high reputation of the prince of Condé. With an army of scarcely eight-thousand soldiers, he blocked up a city containing half a million of inhabitants; and, though Turenne was allured by the charms of the dutchess of Longueville, to embrace the party of the *Fronde*, yet his military talents availed him little, when seconded only by a tumultuous mob. A cessation of hostilities was at length arranged. The leaders, on each side, having obtained the particular object of their avarice or ambition, the public good was buried in studied silence; the storm was, for a moment, hushed, and the court returned to the deserted capital.

England was, in the mean time, most violently afflicted. Charles I. had expired on the scaffold, his children were driven into exile, and Cromwell, having usurped the regal power, under the title of protector, ruled the country with absolute sway.

The calm which had followed the popular tempest, in Paris, was deceitful. The citizens again resumed their arms, and turned their swords against each other. The prince of Condé and his brother were suddenly arrested, by the orders of Mazarin, and confined in prison, until that minister was compelled to release them.

1651. Louis had now attained the age fixed for his assuming the reins of government; but he was still influenced by the councils of his mother, and seemed to inherit her fond partiality for Mazarin. Sensible of the implacable resentment of the queen, the prince of Condé retired from Paris, to arm, in his support, the provinces of

Guienne, Poictou, and Anjou; and allied himself with the Spaniards, the very people, on whose defeat, he had founded his martial glory.

1655. The civil war between the two powerful factions, was continued, with various success. The military operations of Louis, against his foreign enemies, were more decidedly in his favour. Landreci and Quesnoi were reduced, by marshal Turenne; and a road was thus opened into the Spanish Netherlands. The king, in person, beheld the successful siege of St. Guillaín; the Spaniards were compelled, by the marquis Merinville, to retire from the walls of Solsonna, and their fleet was defeated, before Barcelona, by the duke of Vendome.

But even these victories afforded less satisfaction to Mazarin, than a treaty, soon afterwards concluded by him, with the protector of England. This energetic statesman was equally courted and dreaded, by all Europe. Never had England been more formidable, than under the government of Cromwell. But Louis purchased his alliance by a concession, most unhospitable and ignominious; which the magnanimity of his maturer years, would have disdained; and which must solely be imputed to the more subtle and less honourable policy of his Italian minister. Charles II., and his brother, the duke of York, both sons of the late unfortunate king of England, and consequently the grandsons of Henry IV. of France, and cousins of Louis himself, were compelled, by the imperious voice of Cromwell, to quit the latter kingdom, and seek an asylum in the dominions of Spain.

1658. While the honour of France, however, was thus tarnished, by withdrawing her protection from the unhappy strangers, the advantage accruing to her arms, was not only brilliant, but important. Though Turenne experienced a reverse of fortune, before Valenciennes, yet, aided by an English fleet, and six-thousand infantry of that nation, he obtained the surrender of Dunkirk; but Louis had no sooner entered, in triumph, the prostrate city, than he was compelled to deliver it to Lockhart, the ambassador of Cromwell.

This was the last acquisition of the Protector. His dying breath bequeathed his power to his eldest son Richard; who was acknowledged as the executive magistrate, of England, by the court of France.

On the surrender of Dunkirk, marshal Turenne turned his arms against Furnes and Dixmude, which soon yielded to his impetuous assaults; as did also Oudenarde and Menin, Gravelines and Ypres. The rigour of winter at 1659. length paralysed the hand of war. Spain had now become alarmed, by the losses of the previous campaign; and France was, for the present, satisfied with conquest. The belligerents agreed upon a cessation of arms; and, in the isle of Pheasants, on the frontiers of the two kingdoms, Mazarin and Don Louis de Haro, appeared, as the representatives of their respective sovereigns. At the end of four months, the conferences were ended, and a war of twenty-five years concluded, by the celebrated treaty of the Pyrenees. Philip made several concessions: Louis was to receive the hand of the Infanta, with half a million of gold crowns; Alsace and Rousillon were confirmed to him; but he solemnly renounced every succession that might accrue to him, in right of his consort;—a renunciation to which he afterwards paid not the smallest regard:—to Germany, he restored the dutchy of Lorraine; to Spain, the cities of St. Omer, Ypres, Menin, and Oudenarde; and he consented to pardon the prince of Condé.

1660. In the following year, a most unexpected revolution occurred, in England. Richard Cromwell, having signed his own dismission, and retired to enjoy the quiet of a private life; by the prompt and able management of general Monk, Charles II., a hopeless exile from his native country, was placed upon the throne.

1661. A treaty at Vincennes, with the duke of Lorraine, was the last act of cardinal Mazarin. Nine days afterwards, he expired.

The administration and talents of Mazarin, have been compared with those of Richelieu; but, for the energetic features which distinguished the latter, we in vain seek, in his successor. Prudent, subtle, and avaricious, he endeavoured rather to sooth, than to command; to deceive, than to vanquish; and the love of glory either existed not in his bosom, or was lost in his insatiate thirst for gold.

On the death of Mazarin, a new era commenced, in the government of France. Louis XIV., now in his twenty-third year, prepared to throw off those shackles, which the ascendancy of his minister had imposed; and hereafter to assume, not only the ensigns of royalty, but the duties of a king.

His resolution once formed, he maintained it to the last moment of his life. He appointed bounds to the power of all his ministers; obliged them to give an account of every thing, at certain hours; restored order to the finances, and established discipline amongst the troops.

The security of his kingdom was augmented, by the purchase of Dunkirk. Charles II. was reduced, by his profusion, to the necessity of parting with that important place; and Louis obtained it, for the sum of four-hundred-thousand pounds. The interval of peace was employed, by the French monarch, in preparations for a successful war. In the silent lapse of six years, he had replenished his coffers, created a naval force, augmented his armies, and provided an immense quantity of military stores. The two ministers, who principally shared his confidence, were Colbert and Louvois. The former, in the finances, rivalled the fame and abilities of the duke of Sully: the latter first displayed to Europe the means of subsisting large armies, at a distance, by magazines.

Under the administration of Colbert, commerce began to flourish, the arts were patronised, industry was every where encouraged, the academies of painting, of sculpture, and of the sciences, were instituted, to improve the national taste; and the learned of foreign nations, found in Louis, and in his virtuous minister, a liberal friend. As superintendant of the public buildings, he improved and embellished the capital; and, by erecting the noble palaces of the Tuileries, Versailles, the Louvre, and Fontainebleau, he contributed to the comfort of the monarch, and to the honour of the nation. He likewise promoted the Languedoc canal, by which, after fourteen years, incessant labour, the two seas were united; and introduced a severe reform in the courts of justice.

1668. The death of the queen-mother, who no longer retained her influence on the mind of her son, was an event of less moment, than the decease of Philip II., of Spain. He left a son, Charles II.: but the queen of France, the issue of a former marriage, claimed a considerable province of the Spanish monarchy, even to the exclusion of his brother. By the custom of some parts of Brabant, a female of a first marriage, is preferred to a male of a second; and Louis, in open violation of his renunciation in the treaty of the Pyrenees, prepared to vindicate the claim of his consort, by the sword.

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With an army of forty thousand men, directed by Turenne, he burst into the defenceless province of Flanders. Destitute of magazines or fortifications, and of garrisons the towns surrendered to Louis, without resistance. But, his rapid progress awakened the envy and the fears of his powerful neighbours. A triple league was formed, by England, Holland, and Sweden, to prescribe bounds to his ambition. A negotiation was soon commenced, and rapidly concluded. By the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, Louis retained his acquisitions in Flanders, but restored Franche Compté, to Spain; and, though by these conditions, he gained an extensive territory, fruitful and populous, yet he ever afterwards harboured an implacable resentment against the states of Holland; whose deputies had displayed, at the congress, an independent and inflexible spirit, which ill accorded with his lofty conceptions of the deference due to royal power.

1670. Louis soon prepared to gratify his revenge. His attention was first directed to increase his naval force; then, to detach the king of England from his alliance with the Dutch. The latter was not difficult to accomplish. The brother of the French king, the duke of Orleans, had married the sister of Charles, and the influence of that princess was exerted over the mind of the English monarch. But Louis well knew Charles's character, and the usual fluctuation of his counsels. In order to fix him in the French interests, he resolved to bind him by the ties of pleasure; the only bonds, which, with him, were irresistible: he therefore made him a present of a French mistress; by whose means, he hoped, for the future, to govern him. To a conference held with Charles, at Dover, the dutchess of Orleans, forgetting the delicacy of virtue, and becoming a pander to the unchaste desires of her own brother, brought with her a beautiful young lady, of the name of Querouaille; whom the king carried to London, and soon afterwards created dutchess of Portsmouth. This female, to whom he was extremely attached, during the whole course of his life, proved a great means of supporting his connexions with her native country.* The necessities of Charles, se-

* The Author has seen, in Europe, a fine portrait of this celebrated woman; from whom, was descended the late duke of Richmond, who died, a few years ago, in Canada, and had been the subject of consi-

conded her arts. The sums that his profusion demanded, and his parliament denied, were supplied by Louis; and the king of England was thus prevailed on, to relinquish the most settled maxims of policy and honour, and sign engagements for the destruction of Holland, with which he had so lately united himself, to suppress the ambition of France; and also for the establishment of popery and arbitrary sway, in Great Britain.

Two factions at this time agitated the Dutch republic. One was headed by John de Witt, grand pensionary of Holland: a man equally eminent for greatness of mind, for capacity, and integrity; but who regarded with jealousy, the least shadow of absolute power:—the other, less attached to the exterior of liberty, desirous of restoring the stadtholdership, and of investing the prince of Orange with the posts and dignities of his ancestors.

1672. Louis XIV. burst into the United Provinces, at the head of a prodigious army, fearful by its number, and rendered still more formidable, by the skill and experience of Turenne, Condé, Luxembourg, and Vauban. Their progress was commensurate with their means of conquest. In little more than a month, three provinces, out of seven—Guelderland, Overysse, and Utrecht—were in the hands of Louis; Groningen was threatened, Friesland lay exposed, and the only difficulty that presented itself, was in Holland and Zealand, where his conquests were stopped, by an inundation.

But the Dutch maintained their former renown, at sea; and engaged, with alacrity, the combined fleets of two powerful nations; the English, commanded by the duke of York (afterwards James II.) and the earl of Sandwich; the French, by the count d'Estrees. De Ruyter, the republican admiral, acquired, on this occasion, immortal honour; and acknowledged, that, of two-and-thirty actions, in which he had been engaged, this battle was the most obstinately disputed. The loss sustained by the two fleets, was nearly equal: the approach of night suspended the fury of the combatants, and both sides retired to their respective harbours, to repair.

The glory of De Ruyter could not inspire his country

derable notice, in consequence of a duel fought by him, with the duke of York.

men, to emulate his conduct, on land. The states determined to implore the pity of the confederated monarchs; but the conditions prescribed, by Louis, were little better than articles of slavery; and displayed any thing but the sentiments of a generous mind. All the towns, on the other side of the Rhine, were to be ceded, with Nimeguen, and several in the very heart of the provinces: the Roman Catholic religion was every where to be established, and a medal was annually to be presented, to the French court, importing that the Hollanders retained their freedom, by the moderation of Louis.

The indignation of the populace, at terms so ruinous and disgraceful, broke out, in violent seditions. The unfortunate De Witt, and his brother Cornelius, were torn to pieces, and the united voice of the people invested, with the sole administration, William prince of Orange. Though only in his twenty-second year, the prince gave strong indications of those great qualities, by which his life was afterwards distinguished. His appointment once more animated the drooping spirits of his countrymen: to check the progress of the victor, they opened their sluices, and laid the adjacent country under water; Louis returned to his capital; in the ensuing year, the emperor and the king of Spain declared themselves allies of the Dutch; De Ruyter still maintained his reputation at sea; and the French monarch was obliged to recall his forces, and abandon all his conquests, with greater rapidity than he had made them.

The ensuing year had not elapsed, when another unfavourable event occurred to Louis. The firm remonstrances of the English parliament, and the clamours of the people, compelled Charles to conclude a peace with the United Provinces. Yet, the restless and aspiring mind of Louis was not dismayed. Inactivity was to him as death. It was in war, only, that he seemed to live. Hostilities were renewed, by him, with unabated vigour; and fresh laurels were gathered, by his experienced generals. But the time was short, in which Turenne was allowed to wear his blood-stained crown. When reconnoitering the site of an intended battery, near the village of Saltzbach, on the Rhine, he was killed, by a cannon-ball; and, shortly afterwards, the prince of Condé closed the long series of his martial toils, by retiring to his palace, at Chantilly; while the imperial general, Montecuculli, full of years and fame,

withdrew from the scene of action, unwilling to expose that reputation, with younger adversaries, which he had acquired as the rival of Condé and Turenne.

The French were, at this time, still more successful at sea. The duke de Vivonne defeated the combined fleets of Holland and Spain, near the coast of Sicily, in three different engagements. The second of these was rendered memorable, by the death of the famous Dutch admiral, De Ruyter: the last and most decisive was fought near Palermo; where twelve of the enemies' largest ships were taken or destroyed, and five-thousand of their men were killed.

1678. Meanwhile, the language of peace had been resumed, and a congress had assembled, at Nimeguen,

under the mediation of the king of England. Having bestowed the hand of his niece upon the prince of Orange, Charles seemed desirous of acquiescing in the wishes of the nation, and of rolling back, from the suffering provinces, the tide of ruin. The Dutch ambassador there signed a treaty, disadvantageous both to the republic and its allies; to which the king of Spain and the emperor reluctantly subscribed.

This war, and the treaty by which it was concluded, gave to Louis a decided ascendancy, in Europe. His generals had shown themselves superior to those of every other nation, and his arms had humbled his most powerful neighbours.

1686. The death of his queen was an event but little regarded, by Louis; who already felt that passion for madame de Maintenon, which accompanied him through life. He was doubtless more concerned at the death of Colbert; whose skill and ability, as a financier, had greatly contributed to his conquests.

The peace of Nimeguen served only to inflame the ambition of the French monarch. He still retained a formidable army; and, acting as if he were absolute sovereign of Europe, he revived old titles and claims, that were buried in remote antiquity, and made daily encroachments upon the neighbouring states.

On pretences, the most frivolous, he demanded Allost from the Spaniards, and, on their refusal, seized upon Luxembourg; to which indignity, the weakness of Spain compelled her to submit, by signing, at Ratisbon, a truce for twenty years; which left Louis in peaceable possession of that town. With equal injustice, he bombarded Genoa, and constrained the republic to sue for peace, for having stipulated to build

some galleys, for the Spaniards. But, a more becoming spirit was displayed against Algiers; whose licentious rovers, after beholding the greater part of their city reduced to ashes, were compelled to release several hundred Christian captives. Yet the true principles of Christianity were foreign to the breast of Louis. He exercised not less injustice towards a large portion of his own subjects, than severity against the infidels of Algiers. His inclinations were all despotic. While he braved the spiritual censures of the father of the Roman Catholic church, he revoked the edict of Nantz, revived the persecution against the protestants, and drove into exile above five-hundred-thousand of the most industrious and ingenious inhabitants of France; which unfeeling measure—as impolitic, as it was cruel—gave a death-blow to her manufactures, the chief support of her multifarious and extensive commerce.

1687. The melancholy fate of the refugees, inflamed against him all the protestant nations of Europe. The prince of Orange formed a league, at Augsburg; where the whole empire united in its defence against the French monarch; and to which, Spain, Holland, and Savoy, became parties, and Sweden and Denmark seemed favourably inclined.

1688. But the attention of the king was suddenly engrossed, by the affairs of England. Charles II. had expired: he was succeeded on the throne by his brother James; who openly violated the laws of his country, attempted to subvert the national religion, and introduce into the kingdom the tyrannical authority of the church of Rome. His subjects, (of whom, only about a hundredth part, were, at this time, catholics) were compelled to provide for their safety, by revolt; and to call, to their protection, the prince of Orange, the son-in-law and nephew of the infatuated James; who, with his consort, Mary, were soon placed, by the almost unanimous voice of the English nation, upon the throne. James sought shelter, with his infant son and queen in France: where, the royal fugitives were received, by Louis, with every mark of respect, and assurance of support. The unhappy prince had still a strong party in Ireland. Thither, he repaired, with arms and ammunition, and a fleet, furnished by the king of France: on the banks of the

1690. Boyne, between Drogheda and Slane, he was encountered by his rival, William; was there entirely

routed; and, after the disastrous action, having fled hastily on board a ship, he returned to the court of France.

In the mean time, the French admiral, Tourville, gained, off Beachy Head, a victory over the combined fleets of England and Holland, commanded by the earl of Torrington and admiral Evertzen; by which, the allies lost eight sail of the line, and many others were rendered unfit for service.

1692. In Flanders, too, the arms of Louis were decidedly victorious; though, in Germany and Spain, the scales of victory were more equally balanced. Still eager to restore the prostrate fortunes of James, he determined to hazard a general action, at sea; and, if successful, to land an army on the shores of England. The hostile fleets met, in the Channel, near Cape la Hogue; and Tourville, the French admiral, obeyed the orders of his sovereign. But, the superior number of his opponents, soon decided the fate of the day. Tourville's own ship, and twenty more, of his largest vessels, were destroyed; and James beheld, from a neighbouring eminence, the scattered fragments, which blasted the fond expectations that he had nourished.

1693. But the fortune of Louis seemed still inclined to favour him, on land. Namur, the strongest fortress of the Netherlands, was reduced, even in the sight of William; and at Landen, the army of the confederates, under the command of this gallant prince, was broken, by the duke of Luxembourg, with the loss of eight-thousand men. Yet, while France appeared an object of envy, to the neighbouring states, her distress every day increased, with the number of her victories. Her provinces were depopulated, to recruit her fleets and armies; the ravages of the sword attended by those of famine; and her monarch, while exulting in the midst of war, was frequently heard to sigh for peace. The king of England invested Namur; and, though that city was obstinately defended, by marshal Boufflers, it was obliged to capitulate, in sight of the French army, under the command of Villéroy.

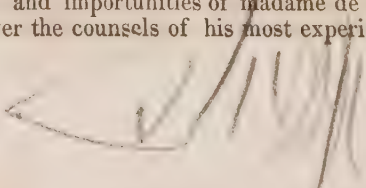
1697. Each party at length seriously inclined to peace. The mediation of Charles XII., of Sweden, was accepted, and the castle of Ryswick, near the Hague, was fixed upon, as the scene of negotiation. The king of France restored, to the Spaniards, all those places that he had taken from them, during the last war; and the conquests made by him in Flanders: to the empire, he relinquished many fortified

towns, of not less importance: he acknowledged William III. (whom he had hitherto treated as a usurper) as lawful king of England; and thus, France, after a long and bloody war, in which her victories were scarcely less numerous than her battles, consented to a treaty, which could hardly have been expected from her, if humbled by defeat.

1701. Only four years were allowed to pass, before Louis again shook off the restraints of peace. On the death of the Spanish monarch, Charles II. without children, the king of France, in conformity with a will which had been executed, by means of improper influence, by the dying prince, caused his grandson, the duke of Anjou, to be proclaimed sole heir of all his dominions, under the title of Philip V., to the total exclusion of the house of Austria; which had equal pretensions to the inheritance. and in direct contravention of a partition treaty, which he himself had concluded with the king of England and the states general.

While Leopold still hesitated whether to acknowledge or oppose the elevation of Philip, he was aroused, by a new proof of the insatiate disposition of Louis. Having prevailed upon the duke of Mantua to admit a French garrison into his citadel, all Europe trembled for their liberties. The emperor immediately prepared to guarantee the integrity of his empire, by the sword; and intrusted his army to the command of the prince Eugene. This general, (a son of the count of Soissons) who had already distinguished himself, in successive victories, over the Turks, afterwards obtained so high renown, and became so dangerous an adversary to Louis, had aspired to military honours, in his native country; but his request of a regiment had been rejected, by the king; and the indignant prince for ever renounced the service of France, and sought glory under the imperial standard. He now entered Italy, with thirty-thousand troops, forced the post of Carpi, overwhelmed the country between the Adige and the Adda, and defeated Villeroy, the favourite of Louis, at Chiari, with the loss of five-hundred men.

In the midst of these rapid operations, James, the exiled monarch of England, closed at St. Germain's, his unfortunate and inglorious life. An opportunity was thus afforded, to Louis, of violating a solemn engagement. Though he had acknowledged William's title, by the peace of Ryswick, the tears and importunities of madame de Maintenon, prevailed over the counsels of his most experienced ministers;



and he proclaimed the son of the deceased prince, king of England, as James III. The English partook in the indignation of their sovereign, at this wanton insult; and prepared to vindicate their choice, by arms. William concerted a triple alliance, between the empire, the United Provinces, and England; and hastened, by his presence and diligence, their formidable preparations for the field.

1702. But these incessant efforts exhausted a frame, naturally delicate and weak; a fall from his horse, quickened the progress of disease; and, in the fifty-second year of his age, after a reign of thirteen years, he yielded up his throne and life. His consort, Mary, having preceded him in her demise, the sceptre fell into the hands of Anne; (the youngest daughter of James II., and wife to the prince of Denmark;) who despatched the earl of Marlborough to the Hague, to assure the allies that she would adopt the engagements entered into by William.

That nobleman was soon afterwards appointed to command the allied army, and displayed that military skill, which he had acquired under marshal Turenne. The French general, Boufflers, was confounded, by his rapid and complicated movements. He evacuated Guelderland, retired under the walls of Liege, and finally sought shelter in Brabant; while Marlborough successively reduced Venlo, Ruremonde, and Liege.

It has been said, of Marlborough, what cannot be affirmed of any other general, either of ancient or modern times,* "that he never fought a battle that he did not win, nor besieged a town that he did not take."

As a counterpoise to those victories, gained by the enemies of France, marshal Villars obtained a decisive advantage over prince Louis of Baden, and also the imperial general, count Styrum; and Tallard defeated the prince of Hesse. Villars was now recalled, to wage an inglorious war against the unhappy protestants, whom the persecutions of Louis had forced into a revolt; and the glory of France was intrusted to marshal Tallard. The French and Bavarians, with superior numbers, advanced to attack the confederates, who had effected a junction with the prince of Baden: but the village of Blenheim was rendered memorable, by the defeat of Tallard. That general was

* The duke of Wellington, we believe, has been equally fortunate as a commander.

vanquished, by the duke of Marlborough, seconded by prince Eugene; he himself was taken prisoner, with thirteen-thousand of the bravest troops of France; twelve-thousand perished by the sword, or were overwhelmed in the rapid stream of the Danube; and, of an army of sixty-thousand men, scarcely twenty-thousand could be collected from its broken remains.

The next day, when the duke visited his prisoner, Tallard, the marshal, intending it as a compliment, assured him, that he had beaten the best troops in the world: to which, the duke replied, "I hope, Sir, you will except those by whom they have been beaten."

1706. The campaign in Flanders opened with events scarcely less disastrous. Near the village of Ramillies, marshal Villeroy was defeated, by the duke of Marlborough, with the loss of one-hundred-and-twenty standards, and fifteen-thousand men; though the loss of the victors was not more than three-thousand. The court of Louis was filled with consternation: but the king himself still preserved his magnanimity: instead of reproaching, he endeavoured to console the unfortunate Villeroy; and, to his expressions of concern, replied, "People, at our time of life, monsieur marshal, are not fortunate."

1707. In Spain, the war had hitherto been carried on with various success. The French and the Austrian king of that country, Philip and Charles, alternately possessed and abandoned the capital. But the battle of Almanza turned the scale decidedly in favour of Philip. In that action, the combined English and Portuguese armies were totally defeated, by the duke of Berwick, a natural son of James II., with the loss of five-thousand killed and wounded, and ten-thousand prisoners; and, in consequence, the provinces of Valencia and Saragossa, as well as the capital, were wrested from Charles, and brought under the sceptre of Philip.

1708. That victory, in Spain, and the transient success of the next campaign, having revived the drooping spirits of the king of France, he determined to make one more exertion, in favour of the exiled house of Stuart. Seventy transports, with six-thousand troops, convoyed by eight men of war, sailed from Dunkirk; but the coasts of Britain were protected by her numerous fleet; the vigilance of her officers was already alarmed, and the French, after a

fruitless attempt to land in Scotland, esteemed themselves happy in safely regaining Dunkirk.

The difficulties of Louis increased, on every side. The British fleet captured the islands of Sardinia and Minorca, from the king of Spain. The taking of Lisle had opened a road to the very gates of Paris; that proud city was alarmed and insulted by the predatory incursions of the enemy; and a prince, who had displayed his banners, a few years before, on the banks of the Danube, the Tagus, and the Po, now doubted whether he could remain in his capital, in safety. The despair of the nation was completed, by the severity of the winter: the olive trees were destroyed, the grain was cut off, and the prospect of famine threw a deeper gloom over the calamities of war. Louis was humbled, by his adverse fortune. He instructed his minister, Torry, to open, at the Hague, a negotiation for peace. But, though the king of France agreed to yield the whole Spanish monarchy to Austria, and remain a silent spectator of the 1709. expulsion of his own grandson, Philip V., from the throne; to cede Furnes, Ypres, Tournay, Lisle, and other important places of strength, as a barrier to Holland; to acknowledge the title of Anne, to the British throne; and to remove her brother (the pretender) from France; yet these concessions appeared insufficient, and the allies demanded that the king should *assist*, in driving his grandson from the throne of Spain. These ignominious conditions, however, Louis rejected, with indignation, and added, "since I must make war, I had rather it were against my enemies, than my own children."

1711. But the peace which France had in vain implored, by the most humiliating concessions, was now facilitated, by two events, as favourable, as they were unexpected. The first of these, was a change in the cabinet of England. The queen was prevailed on to dismiss her Whig ministers, by whom the war had been conducted, and to admit to her councils an opposite description of men, of the Tory faction; by whom, it had uniformly been opposed. About the same time, the emperor Joseph expired; and his brother Charles, the competitor of Philip for the crown of Spain, was raised to the imperial throne. The confederates had been roused to action, by the dread of uniting, in one hand, the sceptres of Spain and France; and they could not but regard, with similar jealousy, the former kingdom added

to the hereditary dominions of Charles, and also the power derived by him from the imperial crown.

The reduction of Bouchain was the last, of the long and splendid exploits of the duke of Marlborough. Having been recalled to England, he soon afterwards resigned his command, and was succeeded by the duke of Ormond. But this nobleman, though brave, was sent over, rather to negotiate, than fight. A cessation of arms was soon proclaimed, between France and Great Britain; and the duke directed his march towards Dunkirk; which was delivered, by Louis, to the English, as a pledge of his intention to fulfil the preliminaries of peace, signed by his envoy.

1713. Relieved from the operations of the British army, the success of Villars was no less brilliant, than rapid. Open conferences for peace were held at Utrecht. The emperor and some of the independent princes of Germany, still maintained a haughty and sullen reserve, and refused to sheath the sword: but separate treaties were then signed, by Great Britain and Holland, Prussia, Portugal, and Savoy; and, in the following year, peace was concluded, with the empire, at Radstadt.

Philip V. (grandson of Louis XIV.) was acknowledged king of Spain; but, at the same time, he solemnly renounced all pretensions to the crown of France. Louis, for the other branches of the house of Bourbon, disavowed all right to the future succession of any part of the Spanish dominions; and every precaution was used, to separate, for ever, those kindred thrones. The king of France consented to guarantee the crown of Britain to the protestant line of the house of Hanover; to demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk, and to yield, across the Atlantic, Newfoundland, Hudson's Bay, and Acadia (now called Nova Scotia:) to allow the title of king of Prussia, to the elector of Brandenburg, and to cede to him the town of Gueldres, with part of the Spanish Guelderland: to the duke of Savoy, was given the island of Sicily, with the title of king; and, in case of failure in the king of Spain and his posterity, he was also secured in the succession of the Spanish monarchy; on which condition, he renounced, for himself and his descendants, all right of succession to the crown of France.

1715. In the preceding year, queen Anne had expired, in England; and the life of Louis, who had now reached a venerable age, was also drawing near its end. In

his last hours, he discovered an admirable tranquillity, and greatness of mind. "Why do you weep," said he, to his domestics,—“did you think me immortal!”—He had the courage even to acknowledge his errors; and his advice to his infant successor, was, to avoid that glory which he himself had sought in war; and to consider the happiness of his people, as the principal object of his government.—He died, on the first of September, when he wanted only four days of completing the seventy-seventh year of his age; his reign of seventy-two years, three months, and seventeen days, being, we believe, the longest that any monarch ever enjoyed. He was cotemporary with four kings in Sweden, four in Denmark, five in Poland, five in Portugal, three in Spain, four in England, three emperors, and nine popes.

By his first wife, Louis had one son, the dauphin; who died in the year 1711, leaving three sons, Louis, Philip, and Gaston; by the eldest of whom, he was succeeded on the throne.

“The masculine beauty of his person,” says a discerning author, “was embellished with a noble air; the dignity of his behaviour was tempered with the highest degree of affability and politeness:—elegant, without effeminacy; addicted to pleasure, without neglecting business; decent, in his very vices; and beloved, in the midst of arbitrary power. He patronised the learned, with a liberal hand; and the painter, the sculptor, and the architect, were awoke into life, by the genial ray of his bounty.”

Not only the ablest poets, but the ablest historians, also, have exerted their genius, in emblazoning the reign of Louis. To his name, has been appended the envied appellation of Great. His victories have been sung, in the choicest language of adulation; and the talents of the learned and scientific, whom he had the discernment to encourage, have been transferred, from the proteges to the patron. But, to an unprejudiced and independent mind, unaffected by the dazzling glare which a century has removed, little appears, to justify the application of Great. His actions stand recorded. From his deeds, let us form our judgment. Let us view him as a statesman,—the wars in which he so much delighted, were not demanded by the welfare of his kingdom: as a general, he displayed not a single instance of military skill: as a soldier, he was not brave; as a scholar he was unlearned.

The despotism of the French monarchy, of which the foundations were laid by cardinal Richelieu, was completely established by Louis XIV. The reign of this prince exhibits, with regard to the extent of the royal authority, a remarkable contrast to the times immediately preceding and following the accession of his progenitor, Hugh Capet. Then, the aristocracy possessed all the power of the kingdom; the king was only a pageant of state; but, in the reign of Louis XIV., the king was every thing—all the orders of his subjects, were nothing;—and all the greatness and happiness of the nation, was centered in the glory of the “grand monarque.”

The duke de Montausier, preceptor to the dauphin (who died before Louis) is said to have been the only one of that monarch's courtiers, who had the courage to speak the truth to him. When Louis one day told him that he had pardoned a man who had killed nineteen persons, after having been pardoned for the first murder that he committed;—“No sire,” said Montausier, “he killed but one: your majesty killed the nineteen.”

Montausier was the first projector of the *Délphin* edition of the classics.

France, though she at length became distinguished for her commerce and naval power, was late in establishing any permanent colony. Though a voyage had been performed, to the East Indies, by one of her merchants, in the year 1601, she had as yet no settlement in that country: her colonies in Hispaniola were not planted until the subsequent reign; those in the isles of Cayenne, Guadaloupe, Martinique, and Granada, Bourbon, and the Mauritius, were unimportant.

The reign of Louis presents many conspicuous examples of men of genius. The progress of arts and literature, kept pace with the improvement of manners. As early as the reign of Francis I., who is styled the “Father of the French Muses,” a better taste in composition had been introduced. Rabelais and Montaigne gave a beginning to the French prose; and French verse was gradually polished by Marot, Rousard, and Malherbe; while prose received new graces from Voiture and Balzac. Rabelais possessed great brilliancy of wit, and smartness of repartee: his chief work is the *History of Gargantua and Pantagruel*; a satirical romance, aimed against priests and popes, fools and knaves. The essays of Montaigne are amusing, and convey much instruction

to the heart. The poetical powers of Marot, were so highly esteemed, that he was called, in France, the poet of princes, and the prince of poets. To his fertile invention, the French are indebted for the madrigal and rondeau.—At length, Corneille produced the “Cid,” and Pascal the “Provincial Letters;” the former of which is admired as a great effort of poetical genius; and the latter is still deemed an excellent model of prose composition, as well as of delicate raillery and sound reasoning.—Corneille was followed by Moliere, Racine, Quinault, Boileau, and La Fontaine.* The real name of Moliere, was Pocquelin. His father, who was a tapestry-maker to the court, intended him for his own business. The boy, however, being frequently taken, by his grandfather, to the theatre, acquired so great a taste for dramatic representations, that it excited in him contempt for tapestry-making; and he was sent to study, under the Jesuits, at the college of Clermont. He afterwards applied himself to the law; but, after his father’s death, he renounced all other employments, for the stage, and assumed the name of Moliere, which he has rendered so illustrious. He exhibited before the king, and with so much success, that he received a pension; and continued, from that time, to entertain the court, with a rapid succession of new plays. The last comedy, produced by him, was *Le Malade Imaginaire*, or the *Hypochondriac*; and, on the fourth night of its being acted, the author died. It has been said, that he exerted himself much in the chief character, and that, as, in a part of the play, the actor pretends to be dead, Moliere was discovered to be, not only a theatrical, but a real corpse. It is, however, certain, that, during the representation, the au-

* Rabelais	was born in	1483,	and died in	1553.
Montaigne	_____	1533,	_____	1592.
Marot	_____	1496,	_____	1523.
Rousard	_____	1524,		
Malherbe	_____	1555,	_____	1628.
Voiture	_____	1598,	_____	1648.
Balzac	_____	1594,	_____	1654.
Corneille	_____	1606,	_____	1684.
Pascal	_____	1623,	_____	1662.
Moliere	_____	1620,	_____	1673.
Racine	_____	1639,	_____	1699.
Quinault	_____	1635,	_____	1688.
Boileau	_____	1636,	_____	1711.
La Fontaine	_____	1621,	_____	1709.

thor had a severe defluxion on his lungs, and, half an hour afterwards, expired.



CHAPTER V.

LOUIS XV.

1715—1774.

THE last two monarchs of France, Louis XIII. and Louis XIV., a sketch of whose reigns has just been concluded, were minors, when they became entitled to the throne—the former in the ninth, the latter only in the fifth year of his age:—a third instance of minority now occurred, in the succession of Louis XV., a grandson of the immediately preceding king; who had not yet completed his sixth year.

Disregarding the will of the deceased monarch, whom, when living, they had feared and obeyed, the parliament of Paris conferred the sole executive authority upon the duke of Orleans, nephew of the late king; who had appointed him only head of the regency, with a casting vote.

The early measures of his administration, are well deserving of our praise. They afforded the most favourable anticipations of his judgment, his equity, and moderation. But the tranquillity, which his pacific disposition promised 1717. to maintain, was soon interrupted, by the intriguing genius of cardinal Alberoni, first minister of Spain. That statesman now formed the design of recovering Sardinia from the emperor; of wresting Sicily from the duke of Savoy, contrary to the treaty of Utrecht; and of establishing the pretender on the throne of England. But, while the Spaniards urged the siege of Messina, they were surprised, by the appearance of a British squadron: the fleet of Spain was defeated, and the remnant that escaped the pursuit of the victors, abandoned the hopeless enterprise against Sicily, and sought shelter in their own harbours.

The duke of Orleans had declared war against Spain, in concert with the English. The forces of France were intrusted to the duke of Berwick, (natural brother of the pretender) whose victories had formerly contributed to place the sceptre in the hands of Philip. He successively reduced Fontarabia and St. Sebastian; and Spain, overwhelmed by

disasters, both by sea and land, consented to sue for peace. The conditions were dictated by the regent. He insisted that Philip should dismiss his minister; and Alberoni was delivered to the French troops, and conducted to the frontiers of Italy; having obtained, by his splendid designs, only the character of a rash and inconsiderate projector. Fontarabia and St. Sebastian were restored to Spain, but Sicily was transferred to the emperor Charles; and the dukes of Savoy, in exchange, acquired Sardinia; which island, with the title of king, they have ever since possessed.

The Parisans were this year gratified by a visit of Peter the Great. Seeing the superb mausoleum of cardinal Richelieu, in the Sorbonne, the view of so grand an object, associated with the character of the illustrious individual to whose honour it had been erected, threw him into an enthusiastic rapture. The Czar ran to the statue, and, embracing it, exclaimed, "Oh! that thou wert yet living! I would give thee one half of my empire, for governing the other."

To notice every occurrence in this eventful reign, would be inconsistent with our design.

1720. The financial project of a Scotchman, named Law, by which the royal bank and the citizens of France were involved in one extensive ruin, yields, at this remote period of time, to events of more general interest. Nor does the short administration of the profligate cardinal Dubois, demand any greater share of our attention.

1723. The king had now attained that age which had been fixed for his majority; the regency of course expired, and the duke of Orleans assumed the title of minister. After his death, that office was committed to the feeble administration of the duke of Bourbon-Condé. But the reins of government soon afterwards dropped from his inefficient hands, into those of cardinal Fleury. This prelate had been appointed, by the late king, preceptor to his infant grandson; and, at the age of seventy-three, he devoted the remains of a life, which, hitherto, had merited the public esteem, to the ungrateful toils that attend ministerial power. At a period of life, when the most ambitious seek repose, he entered the lists of fame. Yet he himself was distinguished for his simplicity and modesty; and with reluctance, had exposed his virtuous manners to the contagion of a court. Every one has read the story of Diogenes, carrying, in the midst of day, a lantern, in search of an honest man. This

subject was chosen, by an ingenious painter, to exhibit the character of this minister, in a most striking manner; the cynic philosopher being represented, by the artist, as having found, what he had rather conceived in his imagination, than supposed actually to exist, in the person of cardinal Fleury.

The pacific disposition of Fleury, corresponded with the immediate interests of France. He made no innovations: he tried no political experiments. Sensible that a nation will spontaneously apply itself to those pursuits that are best adapted to its circumstances and condition, he quietly left the kingdom to repair its losses, and to enrich itself, by an extensive and advantageous commerce. Yet, when 1733. the death of Augustus, king of Poland, and the claim of Stanislaus, the father-in-law of Louis, had rekindled, throughout Europe, the flames of war, the cardinal was not deficient in supporting the policy of his royal master. The emperor bent before the storm, and received the conditions of peace imposed by the victorious arms of France.

1740. The ensigns of war, were soon, however, again unfurled. The death of the emperor, Charles VI., the last prince of the house of Austria, awakened the pretences of the several potentates of Europe. Maria Theresa, the emperor's eldest daughter, married to Francis of Lorraine, grand duke of Tuscany, claimed, by right of blood, and by the guarantee of the different European powers, including Louis himself, the whole of the Austrian succession. But, that princess, though allowed peaceably to take possession of this vast inheritance, was not without competitors. The elector of Bavaria, and the king of Sardinia, claimed each some part of the succession; the kings of Spain and Poland, and even Louis himself, urged their pretensions to the whole. Yet, Maria Theresa felt more secure from the competition, than alarmed at the number of the claimants. She was engaged in traversing, in favour of her husband, the designs of Louis—who, despairing of establishing his own claim, entertained hopes of dismembering the Austrian dominions, by fixing the crown upon the head of the elector of Bavaria—when she was surprised, by the invasion of a new and unexpected pretender. Claiming four dutchies in Silesia, the king of Prussia, Frederick III. (honoured, afterwards, with the title of Great) suddenly entered that country, defeated the Austrians, near Molnitz, and occupied the whole of the Silesian dutchy.

The victory of Molnitz was the signal for a general war. The blood of thousands, who fell in the ensuing contest, betrayed the indifference with which monarchs can trifle with human life. Now in his eighty-fifth year, cardinal Fleury was little inclined to relinquish his pacific system, and involve the kingdom in the ambitious strife: but he was overpowered, by the impetuous eloquence and enterprising spirit of the two brothers, the marshal and the chevalier Belleisle. A treaty of partition was negotiated with the king of Prussia; by which, France and Prussia agreed to make the elector of Bavaria emperor, by the title of Charles VII.; and to give him Bohemia, Upper Austria, and the Tyrolese; and Louis appointed the elector, his lieutenant general, and the marshals Belleisle and Broglio to a subordinate command. The success of the French was rapid and transient. The king of England was induced to conclude a neutrality, as elector of Hanover, for his German dominions: the confederates surprised Passau, obtained possession of Litz, and menaced Vienna. The elector of Bavaria was chosen emperor, at Frankfort, under the title of Charles VII. But jealousy already prevailed, amongst the allies: the French army, in its progress, continually diminished, by sickness and desertion: George II., distinguishing between the capacity of king of Great Britain and elector of Hanover, resolved, as the former, to support the queen of Hungary; and the very day on which Charles was proclaimed emperor, at Frankfort, he received intelligence that Lentz had been recovered, by the Austrian general, Khevenhuller, though defended by ten-thousand veteran troops of France.

Even this disaster was soon forgotten, in an event more important, and more fatal. The king of Prussia, having defeated the Austrians, at Czaslaw, with his usual sagacity seized the moment of victory, to conclude an advantageous peace, at Breslaw; which left him in possession of Upper and Lower Silesia, with the county of Glatz. The French 1743. were compelled to make a precipitate retreat. The hostile armies were thus transferred from the banks of the Danube, to the Rhine; and cardinal Fleury, oppressed by increasing years, and the disappointments of his country, closed a life, that would have terminated more gloriously, before the commencement of the war. The king, on his decease, resolved to be his own minister, and his own commander-in-chief. The king of England had already taken

the field, with forty-thousand English, Hanoverians, and Austrians, under the command of the earl of Stair. At the village of Dettingen, near the banks of the Mayne, he was attacked by marshal Noailles. Had the French occupied the neighbouring heights, the confederates must have surrendered, at discretion; but their ardour precipitated them upon the allies, and their temerity was chastised by a severe defeat.

1744. Louis himself invaded Flanders; and, seconded by the duke of Noailles, and count Saxe, (a natural son of Augustus, king of Poland) who, by his exploits, rivalled the fame of Condé and Turenne, successively reduced Menin, Ypres, and Furnes. But, from this scene of conquest, he was soon recalled, to the defence of his own dominions. Prince Charles of Lorraine had passed the Rhine, at the head of sixty-thousand Austrians, had taken Wiesenberg, and laid all lower Alsace under contribution. The king, however, depended not on his own arms, alone, for the defence of Alsace. He had negotiated a new alliance, with the king of Prussia; and Frederick, sensible that if the queen of Hungary should again acquire the ascendancy, the treaty of Breslaw would prove a feeble barrier against her ambition, once more penetrated into Bohemia, and extended his ravages as far as Moldaw.

The alarm of the French had scarcely subsided, when they were seized with one of a different nature; which spread consternation throughout the whole nation. On the eighth of August, the king felt some symptoms of fever; and, on the fourteenth, was declared to be in imminent danger. The intelligence of his illness, reached Paris in the middle of the night. The inhabitants rose from their beds, and ran about, in great disorder, without knowing whither they went. The churches were opened, though at midnight; nor did the people any longer regard the time of sleeping, waking, or eating. All Paris seemed distracted; and the houses of the public officers were surrounded, by a continual crowd. In many of the churches, the priests, who read prayers for the king's recovery, interrupted the supplication by their tears, and the people responded to them with sobs and cries. The courier who brought the news of the king's recovery to Paris, on the nineteenth, was embraced, and almost stifled, by the people. They kissed his horse, and led him about in triumph. When Louis was informed of these uncommon

transports, he melted into tears, and, raising himself up, in his bed, exclaimed—"What a pleasure it is, to be thus beloved! What have I done, to deserve it?"

The death of the emperor Charles VII., in the ensuing year, was an event unfavourable to Louis. His son, Maximilian Joseph, concluded, through the medium of the king of England, a treaty with the queen of Hungary; which established him in the peaceable possession of the electorate of Bavaria, and rejected the alliance of France, which had proved so injurious to his father; and the court of Versailles had, soon afterwards, the mortification of beholding Francis of Lorraine, the consort of the queen of Hungary, invested with the imperial dignity, at Frankfort. Yet Louis still obstinately pursued the war. Accompanied by the dauphin, he now animated the troops, by his presence. Under the command of marshal Saxe, they laid siege to Tournay, one of the strongest towns in the Austrian Netherlands. The duke of Cumberland, at the head of the combined troops, marched to its relief; and a memorable battle took place, on the twelfth of May, at Fontenoy.

The king never showed more gaiety, than on the eve of this engagement. The conversation ran upon battles, at which kings had been present. Louis observed, that, since the battle of Poitiers, no king of France had fought in company with his son; that no one had ever gained a signal victory over the English, and that he hoped to have that honour, the first. In the morning, he was awoke, before any of his officers. At four o'clock, he himself called up count D'Argenson, secretary of war; who immediately sent to marshal Saxe, to demand his last orders. The marshal had been, for some time, in a deep consumption. He was found in an ozier litter, which served him for a bed; and in which he was carried, when so much exhausted, as to be obliged to quit his horse. At six, in the morning, the cannonading began. The English attacked Fontenoy, twice; and the Dutch presented themselves twice before Antoine. In their second attack, almost a whole squadron of the latter having been mowed down, by the cannon, they never afterwards rallied. By the misconduct of general Ingoldspy, in neglecting to seize a redoubt, the favourable moment was lost, to the English army. The duke of Cumberland, however, determined to pass between this redoubt and Fontenoy. The ground was steep: it was necessary to clear a broken

hollow way, and he was obliged to march between two fires. The enterprise was daring; but he was reduced to the alternatives, either to attempt the passage, or quit the field. The English and Hanoverians advanced with him, drawing their cannon themselves, through the foot-paths, and almost without disordering their ranks. Whole companies fell, on the right and left. They were immediately recruited, and marched on fiercely, having six pieces of artillery in their front, and six also in the middle of their lines.

They had now approached within fifty yards of the French and Swiss guards. The English officers saluted the French officers, by pulling off their hats. The count de Chabane, and the duke de Biron, who were in advance, and all the other French officers, returned the salute. Lord Charles Hay, captain of the English guards, cried out, "Gentlemen of the French guards, fire." The count D'Anteroche replied, in a loud voice, "Gentlemen, we never fire first—fire yourselves."—The English gave them a running fire, by which, nine officers, and two-hundred-and-thirty-four privates were killed, and forty-four of the former, and six-hundred-and-thirty of the latter, wounded. Amongst the slain, was the duke de Grammont, first lieutenant general, and nephew of the duke de Noailles. The remainder of the guards dispersed. The English advanced slowly, as if performing their exercise; the majors, with their canes, levelling the soldiers' guns, to make them fire low and straight. They broke in upon Fontenoy and the redoubt. Closing, by the nature of the ground, they became a long and dense column, impregnable, from its mass, and repulsed, one after another, every regiment that attacked it.

Seeing, with calm courage, the greatness of the danger, marshal Saxe sent a message to the king, conjuring him to repass the bridge, with the dauphin; and assuring him that he would do all in his power to remedy the disorder.—"O! I am very confident that he will perform his duty," replied the king; "but I will remain where I am."

From the moment that the French and the Swiss guards were routed, there was nothing but astonishment and confusion, throughout the French army. Marshal Saxe ordered the cavalry to fall upon the English. The count D'Estrees undertook the charge; but their efforts produced little effect, against a body of infantry, so united, so disciplined, and so intrepid, and who kept up a constant running fire. Marshal

Saxe was in the midst of this. He was so weakened, by his disorder, that he could not bear a breast-plate: he wore a sort of buckler, made of several folds of quilted taffety, which rested upon the pommel of his saddle. On this occasion, he threw down his buckler, and flew to make the second line of the cavalry advance, against the assailing column. All the field-officers were in motion. The assailants marched over the dead and wounded of both parties; and seemed to make one single impenetrable corps, of about fourteen-thousand men.

A great number of the cavalry were thrown into disorder, close to the place where the king was, with his son. These two princes were separated, by the crowds of those who fled, and threw themselves in between them. Marshal Saxe, though quite exhausted, continued still on horseback, riding through the ranks, in the midst of the firing. Every attempt made by him, to penetrate the English column, was repulsed. He went to see if Fontenoy still held out. The bullets of its defenders were all spent, and they returned the fire of the enemy, only with powder. But the English infantry were, by this time, greatly weakened. They were even astonished, to find themselves in the midst of the French, without any cavalry: they seemed to remain immoveable, and no longer under orders; but they displayed a good face, and appeared masters of the field of battle. Had the Dutch passed, as ordered, between the redoubts which lay towards Fontenoy and Antoine—had they given proper assistance to the English—no resource had been left, not even a retreat for the French army, nor, probably, for the king and the dauphin. The success of a last attack, was uncertain. Some pieces of cannon were at length brought to bear against the enemy's front. The regiment of Normandy and the carbineers, seconded by the Irish troops, penetrated through the front ranks of the column. It was attacked, simultaneously, in the front, and on both the flanks. In seven or eight minutes, this formidable corps was opened, on both sides. General Ponsonby, and a great number of other British officers, were killed. The English rallied, but were obliged to retire; and quitted the field of battle, without tumult or confusion, and, after a most glorious display of military prowess, were overcome with honour.

Tournay, after a siege of two months, opened its gates to the victorious army; and the example was followed by Ou-

denarde, Dendermonde, Ostend, Nieuport, and the principal fortified places through Austrian Flanders.

The success of the house of Bourbon, in Italy, and of the Prussian monarch, in the north of Europe, was not less rapid and decisive. But it was the intention of the sagacious Frederick, to protect, not to aggrandize the Bourbons. Feeling no longer any dread from the Austrian power, he concluded a second treaty with the queen of Hungary; which, on acknowledging the validity of Maximilian's election, guaranteed to him the possession of Silesia.

France was astonished at the repeated desertions of so powerful an ally. But Louis was encouraged to persevere, by the projection of a new enterprise; which, at first, promised the most decisive advantage. This was, the aiding of the house of Stuart, in remounting the British throne. Though frustrated in his bold attempt, in the preceding reign, the chevalier St. George, had not yet yielded to despair: he still cherished a sanguine hope of wresting the British sceptre from the family of Guelf; and now, under the patronage of the king of France, he confided his fortunes to his son, Charles Edward; who, having arrived at Paris, from Rome, and successfully traversed the seas, with a single vessel, landed, with a few adherents, on the coast of Scotland. His career was, for a while, most brilliant. Having marched to Perth, the chevalier was there proclaimed king of Great Britain; and, on the seventeenth of September, Charles entered Edinburgh, and took possession of the royal palace of Holy-rood-House. On the twenty-first, with an inferior number of half-armed highlanders, he attacked the royal army, near Preston-Pans, and totally defeated them, with the loss of their colours, artillery, tents, baggage, and military chest. He soon gained possession of nearly all Scotland. The number of his followers daily increased; he received considerable supplies of warlike munitions from France; and, with a body of about five-thousand men, made an irruption into England; invested Carlisle, which, in a few days, surrendered; and, at length, entered the town of Derby, distant only one-hundred-and-twenty miles from London. In the capital, all was terror and suspense. The desperate enterprise seemed almost accomplished. The tyranny of the Stuarts appeared on the eve of being revived. But the gallant young adventurer was not supported, in England, as he had expected: his officers advised him to return; and, on

1746. the sixteenth of April, he encountered the duke of Cumberland, on Culloden Moor; where, after a vigorous resistance, he was defeated, with the loss of twelve-hundred men. This was the last attempt, in favour of the Pretender. The cause of the exiled family, here expired. Having dismissed his followers, he wandered, in wretchedness and solitude, amongst the isles and mountains, for the space of five months; in which time, he underwent a series of hardships, miseries, and dangers, such as it is scarcely credible that a human being could withstand. At length, a privateer, hired by some Irish adherents, appeared on the coast; on board of which, the young prince embarked, on the twentieth of September: and, after passing, unseen, during a thick fog, through a British squadron, and being chased by two ships of war, he arrived, in safety, near Morlaix, in France.

1747. The game of war—the favourite pastime of kings—was continued, in Italy, and the Low Countries, with vacillating success. But, at sea, the losses were all on the side of France. The English had begun to exert themselves, on that element, on which they have so repeatedly triumphed. The marquis de la Jonquière yielded ten vessels of war, to the admirals Anson and Warren; and L'Estendeure, six ships of the line, to admiral Hawke.

In America, the people of New-England had taken the island of Cape Breton; and the king of France, while he beheld his marine annihilated, and his commerce ruined, was alarmed, by the lowering of a tempest, in a new and unexpected quarter. Influenced by the gold of England, fifty thousand Russians prepared to add new horrors to the storm of war. Louis, therefore, hastened the negotiations for peace, which had been unsuccessfully commenced, at Breda; and, on the seventh of October, a treaty was concluded, at Aix-la-Chapelle; by which, Great Britain, France, and 1748. Spain, agreed to a mutual restitution of their conquests; and the contracting parties guaranteed, to the king of Prussia, the dutchy of Silesia, and the county of Glatz; which Frederick had then in his possession.

The war which had so long afflicted Europe, was succeeded by seven years of peace; which short interval may be considered, as the most prosperous and happy period, that Europe had ever known. Arts and letters were successfully cultivated; manufactures and commerce flourished; and the manners of society assumed, each day, a higher polish.

But Louis, who had consented to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, only to restore his navy, ceased not, during the season of peace, to meditate new wars; and prepared to dispossess the English of their principal settlements, both in America and the East Indies. From the moment that the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was concluded, Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry, on the coast of Coromandel, a man active, intelligent, and enterprising, conceived the design of advancing the interest of the French East India Company, by acquiring, for France, a large territorial possession, in the south of Asia. But the progress of the French had awakened the jealousy of the East India Company of England. An attempt of M. Dupleix, to impose a governor or nabob upon Arcot, excited the English to arms: in the neighbourhood of Trichenopoli, the French and their native allies were finally defeated, by Colonel Clive; the pretensions of Chunda-Saib, whose cause they had espoused, were extinguished, in his blood; his rival, Mahommed Ali, was established, by the English, on the throne of Arcot; M. Dupleix was soon afterwards recalled; and a cessation of arms agreed on, by the hostile powers.

Meanwhile, the ambitious hopes of Louis were flattered, by the insidious enterprises of his governors in North America. Their plan was to unite, by a chain of forts, the two extensive colonies of Canada and Louisiana; and to confine the English to that narrow tract, which lies between the Alleghany mountains and the sea. This project was pursued with ardour and judgment. Forts were erected along the lakes, which communicate with the river St. Lawrence, and also on the Ohio and the Mississippi; and the chain was almost completed, when the English, alarmed at those rapid encroachments, determined to unsheath the sword.

1755. The execution of this measure, was no less vigorous, than prompt. The British cruizers swept the seas, with so much success, that above three-hundred trading vessels, belonging to France, with more than eight-thousand seamen, were carried into the ports of England.

But, from the great superiority of his land forces, Louis still cherished the hope of accomplishing his gigantic project. General Braddock, who had been intrusted with the chief command of the British and colonial troops, in America, had been allured, by the French and Indians, into an ambuscade, within a few miles of one of the new works, called Fort du Quesne; (now Pittsburg;) where he expiated his rashness

with his life; and his whole force, of twelve-hundred men, would have fallen victims to his inexperience of savage warfare, had not the survivors been withdrawn, by the superior skill and coolness of colonel Washington; who, on that occasion, acted as aid-de-camp to the general, and leader of the Virginia troops.

On the banks of lake George, Dieskau, who commanded the French forces, in America, with a detachment of two-thousand men, was exposed to a similar fate: yet France still maintained, on that continent, her ascendancy, and England was reduced to wage a feeble and defensive war.

Numerous bodies of troops, drawn, by Louis, towards the seacoast, continually alarmed the opposite shores of England. These served to cover the secret intentions of the French, who aspired to the conquest of Minorca; an island in the Mediterranean, formerly wrested, by Great Britain, from the crown of Spain. The armament, for that purpose, consisted of fifteen-thousand land-forces, commanded by the duke of Richelieu; with twelve ships of the line and five frigates, under the marquis Gallisoniere. The troops were disembarked, and immediately invested the castle of St. Philip, which commands the town and harbour of Mahon. The English had detached admiral Byng, to the relief of the island, with a squadron equal to that of France; and Gallisoniere soon afterwards engaged the British admiral, in an indecisive action. The former returned, to block up the port of Mahon; the latter withdrew to Gibraltar; and, on his recall to England, expiated, with his life, the stain which his cowardice had fixed on the naval glory of his country; while the garrison of St. Philip, deserted, in the time of their distress, and destitute of hope, surrendered, after a siege of nine weeks; and the island of Minorca, submitted to the dominion of France.

1757. The satisfaction afforded to Louis, by this acquisition, was allayed by domestic dissensions, and also by an attempt against his life. Francis Damiens, an unhappy wretch, whose sullen mind was inflamed by the disputes between the king and the parliament, relative to religion, embraced the desperate resolution of assassinating his sovereign. In the dusk of the evening, as the king was preparing to enter his coach, he was suddenly wounded, though slightly, between the ribs, in the presence of his son, and in the midst of his guards. The daring assassin had

mingled with the crowd of courtiers, but was instantly betrayed, by his distracted countenance. In his frantic and incoherent declarations, he persisted, during the most exquisite tortures; and, after human ingenuity had been exhausted, in devising new modes of torment, his judges consigned him to a death, the inhumanity of which is increased by the evident madness that stimulated him to the fatal act.

"I have heard it said," relates Madame du Hausset,* in her private memoirs, "that the king proposed having Damiens shut up in a dungeon, for life; but that the horrid nature of the crime, made the judges insist upon his suffering all the tortures inflicted upon similar occasions. Great numbers, many of them women, had the barbarous curiosity to witness the execution; amongst others, Madame de P——, a very beautiful woman, and the wife of a farmer general. She hired two places, at a window, for twelve louis, and played a game of cards in the room, while waiting for the execution to begin; in which way, I have been told, that she, and others, thought to pay their court to the king, and signalize their attachment to his person."

Louis still persisted in his resolution of attacking the electoral dominions of the king of England. The duke of Cumberland was compelled, by the marquis d'Estrees, at the head of superior numbers, to retire behind the Weser; and was afterwards driven, by the duke of Richelieu, under the walls of Stade. Surrounded, on every side, he was there reduced to the necessity of signing the singular convention of Closter-Seven; by which, an army of thirty-eight-thousand Hanoverians, Hessians, and other troops, in the pay of his Britannic majesty, was dissolved, and distributed into different quarters of cantonment, without being disarmed, or considered prisoners of war.

With the capitulation of Closter-Seven, the fortune of France expired; and that event, which promised the most brilliant advantage, was succeeded by five years of continual defeat. In Hanover, the rapacity of the duke of Richelieu exhausted the subjected country. A demand, from the court of France, of the arms of those troops who had capitulated, aroused their indignation, and they assembled, from their several cantonments, under prince Ferdinand of Brunswick; whom the king of England had invested

* Lady's maid to Madame de Pampadour, the celebrated mistress of Louis XV.

with the chief command of his electoral forces. Dispersed and unprepared, the French were successively expelled from Otterberg, Bremen, and Verdun; and the duke of Richelieu, better qualified to shine at court, than in the field, with the wretched remnant of his once victorious army, repassed, with difficulty, the Rhine, before a body of men whom he had so lately vanquished. Marshal de Contades, also, was signally overthrown, by prince Ferdinand, at Minden. The pride of France was completely humbled. Pressed on every side, the court of Versailles implored the aid of the kindred crown of Spain; and induced the reigning monarch, Charles III., son of Philip V., to sign the celebrated *family compact*; an alliance, which, with the single exception of the American trade, naturalized, in the dominions of the house of Bourbon, the subjects of each crown; and stipulated that the kings of France and Spain should look upon every power as the enemy of both, which became the enemy of either.

Yet, the assistance of Spain was feeble and inadequate. Louis was still doomed to witness the unavailing slaughter of his subjects, and the curtailment of his empire. Belle-isle, an island situated between Port-Louis and the mouth of the Loire, was reduced, by an armament from England: Chandernagore, also, a settlement on the banks of the Ganges, experienced the same fate; and general Lally, driven from the walls of Madras, was reduced to seek shelter within the fortifications of Pondicherry; which place, the last possession, of any importance, remaining to the French, on the coast of Coromandel, that officer was, after a gallant resistance, compelled, by famine, to surrender.

Nor were the arms of France more fortunate in the western hemisphere. Louisburg, garrisoned by nearly three-thousand troops, under the command of the chevalier Drucourt, being attacked by admiral Boscawen, and the generals Amherst and Wolfe, he was at last under the necessity of surrendering, with his whole garrison; and the island of Cape Breton, shared the fate of its capital. The forts of Ticonderoga, Crown-point, and Niagara, soon afterwards lowered their banners; the British standard was at length seen proudly waving over the lofty walls of 1759. Quebec; where the gallant general Wolfe fell, lamented by his admiring country; and the marquis de Montcalm, after displaying equal skill and courage, perished on the field, with above a thousand of his bravest men. With the

capital, the whole province of Canada, was soon transferred to the invaders. Of all her settlements in North America, the town of New-Orleans, and a few plantations on the Mississippi, alone remained, to France; while, in the West-Indies, the powerful armaments of the English wrested 1762. from her the islands of Guadaloupe and Martinico; in Africa, she was driven from her forts and factories on the river Senegal; and afterwards, the grandeur and prosperity of the house of Bourbon, were shaken, to their very base, by the storming of the Havana—the principal seaport in the island of Cuba, the key of the gulf of Mexico, and the centre of the Spanish trade and navigation in the new world.

But, it was at sea, that the house of Bourbon beheld its lofty hopes finally overwhelmed. The marquis du Quesne, M. de la Clue, and M. de Conflans, were respectively constrained to yield to the superior skill of admirals Osborne, Boscawen, and Hawke. So repeated disasters humbled the pride of Louis. His finances were exhausted, his commerce at a stand, his marine destroyed. Happily for him, the English ministry were equally disposed for peace. William Pitt, (better known, subsequently, as the earl of Chatham) the ablest politician in Europe, having been opposed, in the council, by his colleagues, had resigned the helm of state; and the earl of Bute, unequal to fulfil the duties of pilot, amidst the storms of war, listened, with readiness, to the proposals of the court of Versailles; and plenipotentiaries were deputed, to assemble at Fontainebleau. The great outlines of the treaty, were soon adjusted; as both parties agreed to withdraw, entirely, from the German war, and mutually to restore the places which they had taken. But France ceded to Great Britain, Canada; reserving the right of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland; and retaining the small islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon. The king of Prussia soon afterwards concluded a treaty with the empress-queen; by which, all the conquests, on both sides, were restored; and, after a tedious and bloody war, the tranquillity of Europe was, once more, happily re-established.

Escaped from the fury of the foreign tempest, it might reasonably have been expected, that the caution and vigilance of Louis would have been exerted, to avoid the rage of domestic storms. But adversity had not taught him moderation. His reign was destined to prove equally inimical to the happiness of his people, and to the despotic power of his

successor. The times had become enlightened: men, in that philosophic age, had discovered that the divine right of kings was but a fable. Their own rights were ascertained, declared loudly to the world, and maintained, with a boldness and resolution, which no sophistry, on the part of the court, could overturn. no threats or imprisonment restrain. The parliaments of France, particularly those of Paris and Rouen, offered as strenuous opposition to the tyranny of Louis XV., as the commoners of England had displayed, against the illegal measures of Charles I.; and the political horizon began already to be darkened, with those clouds, which burst, with accumulated violence, on the head, and shook, to its very foundation, the throne of his grandson.

"The subject," says the parliament of Rouen, in a remonstrance addressed to the king, "has a right to the easiest and least burthensome mode of contributing to the wants of the state. This right, which is founded in nature, belongs to every nation in the world, whatever may be its form of government: it is principally the right of the *Franks*, and, in a more especial manner, of the province of Normandy. The Norman charter furnishes, on this head, the most respectable monuments of our national immunities. We there find, that no tax can be laid on your subjects of this province, unless agreed to, in the assembly of the three estates. This charter subsists, in its full force: it makes a part of your people's rights, which you swore to maintain, before Him, by whom kings reign."

Amidst these convulsions, the dauphin of France expired, in the thirty-seventh year of his age. By his second marriage, with Maria Josepha, of Saxony, he had three sons, the duke of Berri, the count of Provence, and the count of Artois, and also two daughters; all of whom survived him.

1769. The next subject, requiring notice, is the enterprise of Louis against Corsica. The people of this island had resisted, with manly firmness, the oppressive councils of the Genoese, who claimed the sovereignty of the island, by right of conquest. But Genoa, unable to support her pretensions, transferred them, on certain conditions, to France. To execute his engagements, twenty battalions of French troops were landed in Corsica; and the inhabitants, who had summoned Paoli, one of their principal chiefs, to the supreme government of the island, determined to defend their liberties, to the utmost of their strength. A sharp and

bloody war was carried on, in all the fastnesses and mountainous parts of the island; and it was not till after Louis had fatally experienced, in two successive campaigns, the enthusiastic courage which animates the champions of freedom, that he overwhelmed, by his superior numbers, this unfortunate people, and, with the loss of several thousand of his bravest troops, only extended his dominion over a rugged and unproductive island.

1770. In the following year, the dauphin (grandson of the king of France) received the hand of Maria Antoinette, a daughter of Maria Theresa, and sister to the emperor of Germany. But even these nuptials, which promised to cement the alliance of France with the house of Austria, were attended with events the most inauspicious. The crowd that hastened to be spectators of the fire-works, displayed, on this occasion, at Paris, tumultuously pressed upon each other: those who were foremost, sunk down, by the weight of increasing numbers, behind; and it is supposed that about a thousand persons perished, in the dreadful confusion, besides double that number, who were miserably bruised and maimed.

1774. A reign of fifty-nine years, was now hastening to a close. Being attacked by the small-pox, the ignorance of his physicians co-operated with the virulence of the disease; and, on the tenth of May, in eight days after its first appearance, the French monarch resigned his life, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

Such, was the fate of Louis XV. The appellation of "well-beloved," which had been conferred upon him, in the early part of his career, was effaced, by thirty years of rapacity, profusion, and lascivious excess. His example had loosened the bands of morality, his prodigality had exhausted the credit and resources of the country, and his wanton pride had trampled upon the remnant of the constitution. In his exterior, nature had been kind to him. He resembled his grandfather, Louis XIV., in the strength and agility of his frame, and in his portly and majestic stature.

CHAPTER VI.

LOUIS XVI.

REVOLUTION.—DESTRUCTION OF THE BASTILE.

1774—1792.

LOUIS XVI. succeeded to the throne of his grandfather, at the age of twenty. In the exercise of the royal authority, his first acts induced a lively expectation of a happy reign. He remitted the tribute which was expected on the accession of a new monarch; he removed from office those persons whose inability or oppressive conduct, had rendered them disagreeable to the nation; and recalled the count de Maurepas, who had formerly occupied the marine department, but who, for three-and-twenty years, had been banished from the court. This statesman, however, now more than seventy years of age, declined the resumption of his former station; and, with a seat in the privy council, without any particular office, influenced the most important concerns of government. The seals were delivered to M. Meromesnil, president of the parliament of Rouen; the count de Vergennes was called to preside over the foreign department, Malesherbes became counsellor of state, and the count de Muy, afterwards created a mareschal, was nominated secretary of war.

Following the dictates of his own beneficence, Louis reformed the penal code of France, which then savoured of the barbarous times in which it had originated: he abolished the use of torture; and restored to freedom, with a few exceptions, those prisoners of state, the mournful inhabitants of the Bastile and other fortresses, who had been immured through the jealousy of the preceding monarch.

Several schemes of economy were, at the same time, introduced. The price of bread, which had risen to an excessive height, was, by the prudent management of the ministry, reduced; and those, who, in the confusion of the last reign, had largely speculated in corn, were now persuaded to bring it into market. Such attentions could not fail to command the gratitude of the populace; and, whenever the king appeared in public, he was greeted with their acclamations. Yet, one circumstance was wanting, to esta-

blish the popularity of Louis. France still sighed for the restoration of her ancient parliaments; and, when the duke of Orleans, and his son, the duke of Chartres, joined in the public sentiment, upon this important question, they were exiled from the royal presence. The people were stunned, by this imprudent stroke. They considered the two dukes as victims to the public good. When Louis next presented himself to the inhabitants of Paris, instead of the usual marks of applause, he was received with awful silence; and the young monarch soon perceived, that he could preserve the affections of his subjects, only by a ready compliance with their wishes. The exiled princes were recalled; and the king commanded an edict to be registered, which re-established the ancient parliaments, and for ever suppressed the new. But Louis viewed the proceedings of these popular assemblies, with a jealous eye. He endeavoured still to preserve the royal authority, undiminished; and was equally averse, with his predecessor, to grant them any power, that could possibly curtail his own.

The death of pope Ganganeli, Clement XIV. who had filled the apostolic chair with great prudence and moderation, was an event generally regretted, by the countries which yet acknowledged the dominion of the holy see. His pontificate had been rendered memorable, by the abolition of the society of Jesuits; and a vague and idle rumour had pervaded Europe, that he had fallen a sacrifice to the effects of poison. The vacant dignity was warmly contested. It was not until the ensuing year, that the electoral conclave fixed the tiara upon the head of John Angelo Braschi, a native of Ravenna; who assumed the name of Pius VI.

1775. The elevation of M. Turgot, to the chief direction of the finances, afforded no small share of discontent, to the farmers general of the taxes. Endued with integrity and ability, that minister had delivered the commerce of grain from many vexatious restrictions; but a scarcity of corn happening to coincide with the moment of his regulations, those effects, which arose from dearth, were ascribed to the operation of his measures; and the people, incited by his enemies, tumultuously assembled, in large and formidable bodies. They insulted the magistrates, plundered the houses, and not only destroyed large quantities of corn and flour, but increased the general distress, by deterring the venders of provisions from bringing them to market. Their

rage became exasperated, by the destruction which they themselves produced. To check their progress, it was necessary to command the assistance of regular troops; yet, the hungry insurgents for some time maintained their ground, against the disciplined valour of their opponents; and nearly five-hundred of those wretches had fallen, before they relinquished the unequal conflict.

The death of the *mareschal de Muy*, who had filled the office of secretary of war, was succeeded by the appointment, to that department, of the count de St. Germain; a nobleman, who, during the last war, had enjoyed a high command in the north. He now allowed but a short time to elapse, before he distinguished his administration by the bold and energetic measure of disbanding the *Mousquetaires*; a corps instituted for the protection of the royal person; which, being composed of young men of the most illustrious extraction, too frequently insulted the humbler class of citizens, by their overbearing spirit. The naval department was inspected, with equal diligence and care. When the administration of the duke de Choiseul expired, and his cousin, the duke de Praslin, was dismissed from superintending the marine, the appointment of M. de Sartine, to this department, did honour to the penetration of the king. One appointment more was necessary, to display the royal mind free from prejudice, and open to the impression of intrinsic merit. M. Turgot, though upright and attentive to his duties, had not been fortunate in commanding the public confidence. James Necker, a native of Geneva—by birth, a foreigner, and by religion a protestant—was called to preside over the treasury; and trusted with the sole management of the fiscal concerns of France. His talents were assiduously employed, to deserve applause; and, under his direction, a reform was introduced, into every department of the revenue.

With equal zeal, to extend the dominion of science, Louis fitted out several vessels, for astronomical discoveries. The chevalier de Borda was instructed to ascertain the exact position of the Canary Islands, and the Cape de Verds, and the different degrees of the coast of Africa, from Cape Spartel, to the island of Goree: the chevalier Grenier, who had traversed the Indian seas to improve the charts and correct the errors, by which former navigators had been misled, was liberally rewarded, by a monarch, who aspired to immortalize his reign, by expeditions beneficial to mankind.

The attention of the French nation, had gradually been diverted from domestic affairs, and was at length fixed solely upon occurrences in the western hemisphere. Aroused by the attempts of the parent country, to exercise over her North American plantations a legislative authority, inconsistent with their chartered rights, Thirteen of the British colonies had boldly resisted the usurpation, and severed the maternal tie. A favourable opportunity seemed thus presented, to enable France to dismember the empire of her powerful rival, and regain those provinces in America, which had been conquered from her by Great Britain. The colonists awakened the latent desires of Louis, in regard to their repossession. He opened a willing, though a cautious ear, to their application for assistance. Fearful that the opposition of the colonial patriots, would be ineffectual, against the veteran army and powerful navy, the awakened pride and inexhaustible resources of her ancient rival, the aid afforded them, by France, was, for a long time, clandestine in its character, and trifling in its extent. At the head of the colonial armies, was placed colonel Washington; a gentleman possessed of large estates, in Virginia; and who, by his fortitude and resolution, integrity and able conduct as a soldier, justified the wisdom of the appointment, and added a never-fading wreath, to the laurels, already won by him, in repelling the inroads of savage war.

On the fourth of July, 1776, the colonies declared their Independence, and assumed the title of the Thirteen United States. Three agents from the confederation, Silas Deane, Benjamin Franklin, and Arthur Lee, had successively arrived at Paris; and, though all audience was denied them, in a public capacity, still they were privately encouraged to hope, that France only waited for a proper opportunity, to vindicate, in arms, their freedom and independence. French officers and engineers, with the connivance of government, entered into the patriotic service; and the marquis de la Fayette, a young nobleman of affluent fortune, and nearly allied to the illustrious house of Noailles, now only in his nineteenth year, though positively interdicted by his sovereign, hired a frigate, and, impatient to join the standard of liberty, steered towards America; where he was received with open arms, appointed to a principal command, and soon afterwards, at the Brandywine, under the banners of the immortal Washington, shed his first blood, in a cause,

to the successful termination of which, in the course of a long and sanguinary war, he contributed most important aid. But, neither the declaration of their independence, in the council, nor the heroic obstinacy with which it was asserted in the field, was sufficient, for a long time, to alter the timid policy of France. The capture, by the American commander-in-chief, of a thousand Hessian troops, at Trenton, though a brilliant, was not a paralyzing stroke given to the British arms. The court of Versailles awaited, with most patient observation, the crisis of the important struggle. That crisis at length arrived. Saratoga, where the flower of the royal forces, under Burgoyne, surrendered to general Gates, was the scene of an achievement, which seemed to place the success of the American congress beyond a doubt. The intelligence of this signal victory, was hailed, by the French ministers, with joy. Canada seemed again united to the Gallic crown. All hesitation, with regard to their interference, was now removed; and the queen who had long seconded the applications of the American agents, espoused their cause, with increasing ardour, and with less reserve.

1778. On the sixth of February, a treaty was signed, by the United States and Louis, on the basis of a perfect reciprocity of interest. The French monarch guaranteed their commerce and independence; and any other powers, that might have received injuries from England, were invited to join in the alliance.

But, in this treaty with the revolted provinces, other counsels prevailed, over the private opinion of Louis. Whether dreading the expense of a ruinous war, whether alarmed already at the progress of democratic principles, or desirous of observing good faith with England, he considered that there ought to be a stronger motive for war, than barely the opportunity of waging it with success:—he, therefore, almost alone, opposed a measure, which was finally demonstrated to be a great political error, as regarded the dignity and safety of his crown.

The recall of lord Stormont, the English ambassador at Versailles, was the signal for the commencement of hostilities, by Great Britain, against France.

But Louis had already prepared for this event. In the month of April, the count d'Estaing, who, during the course of the last war, had, in the East Indies, maintained the

glory of his country, sailed, from Toulon, for the American coast, with twelve ships of the line, and several frigates. On board the fleet, were eight-hundred soldiers; and also M. Gerard, appointed minister plenipotentiary to the United States.

From the continent of America, the flame of war was rapidly communicated to the West India Islands. Dominica was quickly taken, from the British, by the marquis of Bouille; St. Vincents, by the chevalier Romain; Grenada, by the count d'Estaing. But the English arms, on the other hand, were not without a proportionate share of success. St. Lucia was wrested from the dominion of France; D'Estaing experienced a severe repulse, and was wounded, at Savannah; and, in the East Indies, his country was again stripped of all her possessions, except the islands of Mauritius and Bourbon.

1779. But, for these reverses, France received ample compensation, in her negotiations, in Europe. Aroused from the neutrality, hitherto observed by him, the Spanish monarch now resolved to fulfil the conditions of the celebrated "family compact;" and, after having presented a memorial to the court of St. James, in which were enumerated a hundred insults, alleged to have been offered to his sovereign, by England, his ambassador quitted London, and returned to Spain.

The combined navies of the house of Bourbon, presented a most formidable sight. Sixty-six vessels of the line, entered the British channel, scattering terror and dismay throughout the English coasts; and, to increase the embarrassment of her enemy, Spain, with a considerable army, formed the siege of Gibraltar; a fortress of Andalusia, which, situated on a rock, and occupied by the British, had long derided the attempts, and wounded the pride of the Spanish court. But every effort made against its defences, proved abortive. An almost incessant firing, for more than three years, by the Spanish batteries, and a most tremendous assault, by the combined forces of France and Spain, under the command of the duke de Crillon, in which were exhausted all the destructive power, and all the terrific grandeur of the art of war, was sustained by general Elliot, with unparalleled fortitude, and repulsed with amazing loss.

1780. The capture of Charleston, by the British army, had excited considerable alarm, throughout the

United States. The American Congress had solicited, in the strongest terms, the further aid of France; and Louis detached, in the beginning of May, from Brest, the count de Rochambeau, with twelve-thousand chosen troops, and the chevalier de Ternay, with seven ships of the line, and several frigates. These arrived, about the middle of June, at Rhode Island. The insular section of this province, had been assigned, by the United States, to their allies, as a place of arms; and count Rochambeau, while he waited an expected reinforcement, employed his troops in repairing and augmenting the defences. He had, soon afterwards, reason to congratulate himself, on this precaution. General Clinton and admiral Arbuthnot, having returned, from the reduction of Charleston, to New-York, formed a plan of attack, against the French fleet and army: but their designs could not elude the penetration of general Washington; he rapidly crossed the Hudson, with twelve-thousand men; and general Clinton, perceiving the danger to which his absence must expose New-York, relinquished his attempt against the island.

The accession of so large a body of veteran troops, produced a cheering influence upon the republican ranks. Shortly afterwards, the prospect was still further brightened, by the addition of another enemy, to England. Having, by the capture of an American packet, obtained possession of a treaty of amity and commerce, between the republics of Holland and the United States, Great Britain, at the close of the year, commenced hostilities against the Dutch.

1781. Yet, still, the result of the American contest, seemed doubtful. By a failure of co-operation, on the part of their European allies, the congressional army had not hitherto received, from the presence of the French vessels of war, all that benefit, which they had reasonably expected. On this charge, even the gallant admirals, de Guichen and d'Estaing, are not wholly free from censure. It was happy for the cause of liberty, that such a man as Washington had been intrusted with the chief command; and that he was seconded, in his heroic efforts, by such leaders as Green, Sullivan, and Gates; Wayne and Morgan; St. Clair, Knox, and La Fayette.

But, the clouds which had lowered so heavily over the destinies of the United States, began, before the close of the present year, to pass away. Harassed by numerous bodies

of American troops, and weakened by the effects of a sickly climate, the British general, Cornwallis, notwithstanding his activity and valour, was unable to continue his operations, in the open field. He established his place of arms at Yorktown, situated on the south side of York River, in Virginia; which, as it was navigable for ships of great burthen, enabled him to receive succours and support, by sea.

This post, lord Cornwallis diligently applied himself to fortify. But the hour was rapidly approaching, destined to terminate the career of that commander; and, by a decisive blow, finally to establish the independence of the United States. By a series of the most artful address, general Washington had deceived his antagonist Clinton; count de Rochambeau had passed over from Rhode Island, and, in conjunction with the American army, menaced New-York; that city, with its dependencies, was kept in a continual state of alarm, for above six weeks; when the combined army, of French and Americans, rapidly traversed New-Jersey, crossed the Delaware, passed through Philadelphia, and, having arrived before Yorktown, proceeded closely to invest lord Cornwallis, who occupied that station, with seven-thousand troops.

Meanwhile, the count de Grasse, with his fleet, from the West Indies, arrived in Chesapeake Bay. After blocking up York River, and occupying James River, to a considerable distance, by his skilful manœuvres, he not only precluded lord Cornwallis from any retreat to the Carolinas, but was also enabled to convey, in security, the marquis de Saint Simon, with a large body of land forces, from the West Indies, eighteen leagues up the latter river; where he formed a junction with the marquis de la Fayette, who had already been reinforced, with succours from Pennsylvania, under general Wayne.

The fleet of the count de Grasse, consisted of twenty-four ships of the line; the British squadron, commanded by admirals Greaves and Hood, which, during these operations, appeared at the entrance of the Chesapeake, amounted only to nineteen. Under the present circumstances, de Grasse considered it unadvisable to hazard much. Though he stood out to sea, and engaged the English fleet, he was satisfied with maintaining the honour of his flag; and, without entering into a general battle, he returned to his former station, in the Bay.

Having surrounded lord Cornwallis, on every quarter,

the assailants began to urge their attack upon the English works, with a vivacity that precluded every hope of relief. Sixteen-thousand men vied with each other, in their reduction. They were penetrated by a hundred pieces of heavy ordnance: the defences were in many places ruined; and most of their guns were silenced. Every preparation was made, for a general assault. But this scene of carnage was averted, by the prudence of the British general; who, sensible of his hopeless situation, resolved not to sacrifice, wantonly, the lives of his gallant men: he accordingly opened a negotiation; by which, the troops under his command became prisoners of war.

Such, was the decisive achievement of America and France; which may be considered as ultimately sealing the independence of the United States.

It was not the elder branch alone of the house of Bourbon, that triumphed on the northern continent of America. An armament, fitted out, by Spain, at the Havana, penetrated into West Florida; and the land troops having invested Pensacola, the British governor, after a gallant defence, was, on account of the weakness of the garrison, compelled to surrender not only that capital, but also the whole province.

The gratification, felt by the people of France, at these successes, was, in some degree, alloyed, by the dismissal, from office, of M. Necker. This minister had not rendered himself equally acceptable to the sovereign, as to his subjects. The frequent retrenchments recommended by him, particularly in the expenses of the royal household, having been represented as inconsistent with the dignity of the crown, he was removed from his office of controller-general, and M. Joli de Fleury appointed in his place.

1782. The advantages obtained, at the close of the last campaign, were diligently improved by the ministers of Louis. The siege of Minorca, undertaken in the preceding year, was terminated, in the beginning of the present, by the surrender of the island, to the duke of Crillon.

We have but slightly noticed the operations of the hostile navies. Yet, never had so great activity been shown, at sea, as during the present war. Never had the French and English fleets contended with so much gallantry, or been so nearly equal, in the combat. Too much honour cannot be conferred upon the commanders of the former nation, Suf-

frein and de Grasse; nor upon those of the latter, Rodney and Hood. The capture of the army, under lord Cornwallis, had insured the independence of the United States; and the subsequent operations, upon land, were confined to some faint struggles, made by the English, in the Carolinas and Georgia. France was now at leisure to direct her attention to the East and West Indies; and de Grasse had steered his course from the Chesapeake to Martinique. With the marquis de Bouille, who had already erected the standard of France on the Island of Nevis, he planned an attack upon St. Christopher's; which, by the vigilance and enterprising ardour of that commander, was crowned with complete success.

But, that prosperous fortune which had hitherto attended the enterprises of France, soon afterwards deserted her. On the 12th of April, de Grasse and Rodney found themselves drawn up in presence of each other; the former with thirty-three ships of the line, the latter with thirty-six. The space of sea, which was to serve as the field of battle, is contained between the islands of Guadaloupe, Dominica, the Saints, and Maria-Galante. The action lasted from seven in the morning, till seven at night. Never did warriors, the most inflamed with the desire of victory, display more desperate valour, or more determined resolution, than the French and English, on this memorable day. The broadsides, from their rapid succession, appeared continual. Through the dense smoke that covered the two fleets, nothing was seen but the lightning of their guns; nothing was heard but the thunder of artillery, and the crash of the shivered spars. But the wind all at once proved unfavourable to the French. Their line, after a most furious assault, and sanguinary resistance, was broken, at every point. The count de Grasse bore a heavy fire, for a long time, from the *Barfleur* of ninety guns, commanded by admiral Hood: and it was not until after a terrible destruction on board his vessel, the *Ville de Paris*, and only himself and two more were left standing on the upper deck, that he consented, at last, to strike. Four other vessels of the line, were forced to surrender; one of which, soon afterwards, caught fire, and blew up; the marquis de Vaudreuil then collected part of the scattered fleet, and, with nineteen ships of the line, escaped to Martinique.

The *Ville de Paris* was considered as one of the fairest

ornaments of the French marine. She had been presented to Louis XV., by his capital, at the epoch of the disasters occasioned by the war of Canada; she carried one-hundred-and-ten guns, and cost four-millions of livres.

The English lost, in this battle, and in another that had occurred three days before, upwards of a thousand men: the loss of the French, without reckoning prisoners, was considerably more.

The marquis de Vaudreuil, upon whom the chief command, in the West India seas, now devolved, was not inattentive to the interest of his country. Rising under the pressure of calamities, he detached M. La Perouse, with three ships of war, against the remote possessions of the Hudson's Bay Company, in the north. This enterprise was conducted, by that celebrated navigator, with not less fortitude, than skill. For three weeks, after he had passed the islands of Resolution, which mark the entrance into Hudson's Straits, he was incessantly exposed to new and imminent peril. Notwithstanding the power of the sun, in the month of July, the ships, for some time, were so fast locked up, in the ice, that the seamen passed, from one to another, on foot. They had lost all hope of reaching the destined object, before the ensuing year. But, so severe a trial of their constancy was prevented, by the appearance of a small opening, in the ice; through this, the ships forced their way, with a press of sail; and they were afterwards gratified with the joyful sight of the English colours flying over a fort, on Churchill River. If the toils and dangers of the approach had been great, some compensation was afforded, by the facility of the conquest. The works were garrisoned only by a small number of store-keepers and clerks; who surrendered, on the first appearance of the enemy. A few sought shelter in the woods; and La Perouse, having, by the destruction of the forts and merchandise, completed the object of his expedition, had yet the humane precaution to preserve one of the magazines; in which he deposited, provisions, arms, and ammunition, for their use; as, during the long winter, then approaching, they could not receive any relief from home.

Unparalleled exertions were made, in France, to open the ensuing campaign with an overwhelming force. The ambition of the sovereign was responded by the sympathetic ardour of the people. The nobility, the citizens, the clergy, persons of every rank and condition, vied with

each other, in furnishing contributions to the state. But, amidst this patriotic ardour, in providing the thunderbolts of war, the contending nations were once more blessed, by the voice of peace. The ministers of Great Britain, whose imprudence and incapacity had involved their country in hostilities, as disastrous in the conclusion, as they were impolitic in the beginning, were, at length, by the clamours of the multitude, and the indignation of parliament, removed from the public councils, and were succeeded by men who no longer indulged the chimerical idea of controlling the independence of America. The freedom of that continent, had been the grand object of France. The defeat in the West Indies, and the repulse at Gibraltar, were still deeply impressed on the mind of Louis. Much might be lost, nothing valuable could be gained, by a continuance of the war. These considerations having induced him to listen to the proffered mediation of the two first potentates of Europe, the emperor of Germany, and the empress of Russia, the count de Vergennes was appointed to treat with Mr. Fitzherbert, the English minister, at Paris.

1783. The way had been already smoothed, for the restoration of a general peace, by provisional articles, signed at the conclusion of the last year, between the American states and Great Britain.

By these, the freedom, sovereignty, and independence, of the Thirteen United States, were, in the fullest and most express terms, acknowledged.

This primary object was no sooner attained, than the count de Vergennes quickened the negotiations of his own court; and, on the twentieth of January, signed preliminary articles of peace; which were succeeded, on the third day of September, by a definitive treaty.

By this, France acquired an extent of fishery on the coast of Newfoundland, and the restitution in that quarter, of St. Pierre and Miquelon. In the West Indies, England restored to her, the island of St. Lucia, and ceded the island of Tobago; but France consented to relinquish, in return, the island of Grenada and the Grenadines; and also St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat. In Africa, France was invested, in full right, with the river Senegal, and all its dependencies; and obtained also the restitution of Goree; but, on the other hand, she guaranteed to Great Britain, the possession of Fort James, and the river

Gambia. In the East, France regained, with considerable additions, all that had been wrested from her, in the course of the war; and, in Europe, where she could not acquire an extension of dominion, she received, by the abolition of some restrictions, an accession of dignity and honour.

Nor was the other branch of the house of Bourbon, neglected, on this occasion. Unused as she was, to victory, Spain now tasted the sweets of acquisition. Though baffled and repulsed before Gibraltar, her pride was soothed, by the cession of Minorca; and also the fertile provinces of East and West Florida: yet, some retribution was made, by the restoration, to Great Britain, of the Bahama Islands.

But, however exalted the present situation of France might appear, the elements of future commotion were already apparent, to the eye of an accurate observer. The applause that had attended the parliament of Paris, in its struggles with Louis XV., may be considered as the first indication of freedom. The language of that assembly had boldly inculcated, to the people, their natural rights, and taught them to be less dazzled with the lustre of a throne. The causes of the signal change in the sentiments of the French nation, are various. The human mind had been progressively improved. The veil of superstition had been rent asunder. The writings of Montesquieu, Raynal, and Rousseau; of Voltaire, Bailly, and Buffon; of Condorcet, Diderot, and d'Alembert; had taught mankind to think. The war in the United States, also, had contributed to enlarge the political ideas of the French. They had, on that occasion, stood forth as the champions of liberty, in opposition to regal power; and the officers who had acted on that conspicuous stage, accustomed to think and to speak, without reserve, on their return imparted their liberal sentiments to the provinces of France. From that moment, the French, instead of silently acquiescing in the edicts of their sovereign, discussed every measure, with acumen and boldness; while the attachment of the army, always considered as the sole foundation of despotism, yielded to an enthusiastic admiration of freedom.

We have already noticed the public dissatisfaction, that had attended the dismissal of M. Necker. M. de Fleury had been succeeded by M. d'Ormesson; whose administration expired in the same year that it had commenced. On his retreat, M. de Calonne was nominated to the post of controller-general. Flexible and insinuating, eloquent in conversation, and

polished in his manners; fertile in resources, and liberal in the disposal of the public money; he soon rendered himself acceptable to the court, and acquired the favour of the king. But he was not equally favoured by the people. He was reported to be more able than consistent; and the nation, amidst repeated loans, regretted the severe simplicity that had characterized the administration of M. Necker.

1784. Yet, the first operations of M. Calonne, extorted general approbation. It was his bold and judicious measures, that had restored credit to the Caisse d'Escompte; the only incorporated banking company, then in France; and which had stopped payment, a few weeks before his accession. But, the principal act of the ensuing year, was not equally favourable to his popularity. For many years, France had been without an East India company; and the increase of business, caused by the exertions of individual merchants, appeared a sufficient proof of the advantages derived from an unshackled trade; yet, notwithstanding the benefits which had accrued from this liberal policy, by a resolution of the king, in council, a new company was chartered, and the monopoly restored.

1786. This was the first measure that subjected the conduct of the minister to reproach. But the time was now rapidly advancing, when the necessities of the state would compel him to use expedients, still more unpopular. Though peace had been re-established, throughout Europe, for three years, yet the treasury of France seemed little replenished, by this interval; and it was found requisite to close every year with a loan. The public expenditure of the present year, might probably seem to sanction this measure. It had been thought proper to fortify Cherbourg, upon a large and magnificent scale: the claim of the emperor, to the navigation of the Schelde, had obliged the French to increase their land forces, in order either to form a respectable neutrality, or effectually to assist their Dutch allies; and the marquis de Castries, fond of war, and profuse in his designs, had not suffered the navy, which M. Sartine had surrendered into his hands, to decay, during the interval of peace.

Sensible of the disastrous state of the public revenue, Louis did all he could, to contrive a remedy. He limited his personal expenses, and those of his household, with a rigour which approached to parsimony, and dimmed the

necessary splendour of his throne. He abolished many pensions, and, by so doing, not only disobliged those who were deprived of the enjoyment of those gratuities, but lost the attachment of a much more numerous class of expectants, who served the court, in the hope of obtaining similar gratifications, in their turn. Lastly, he dismissed a very large proportion of his household troops, and body-guards; affording another subject of discontent to the nobles, out of whose families these corps were recruited; and destroying, with his own hand, a force devotedly attached to the royal person.

But, when the edict for registering the loan, at the conclusion of the last year, was presented to the parliament of Paris, the murmurs of the people, seconded by that assembly, assumed a deep and formidable tone. The parliament exhibited a steady opposition. They refused compliance with the royal will; and even insisted that a true account of the state of the finances, and of the purposes to which the sums in question were to be applied, should previously be laid before them. The king, however, compelled the edict to be registered: but the ceremony was accompanied by a resolution of the parliament, that "public economy was the only genuine source of abundant revenue, and the only means of restoring that credit, which borrowing had reduced to the brink of ruin." The royal pride, was wounded, by this remonstrance. The king erased it from the records; declared that he would not consent that they should so far abuse his confidence and clemency, as to erect themselves into censors of his administration; and the more strongly to mark his displeasure, he directed the dismissal of one of their officers who had appeared the most active in forwarding the resolution.

The situation of the minister was distressing. He was more mortified by the opposition of the parliament, than gratified by the approbation of the king. To impose new taxes, was impossible; to continue the plan of borrowing, was ruinous; to have recourse only to economical reforms, would be found wholly inadequate: M. de Calonne, therefore, declared, that it would be impracticable to place the finances on a solid basis, unless by reforming whatever was vicious in the constitution of the state. He perceived that the parliament was neither a fit instrument for introducing a new order into public affairs, nor likely to submit to be a passive machine for sanctioning the plans of a minister, even were those plans the emanation of perfect wisdom. Though originally a body

of lawyers, constituted only for the administration of justice, and indebted for their appointment to the king, there was not an attribute of a genuine legislative assembly, that they did not seem desirous of engrossing to themselves; and they had been supported by the plaudits of the people, who were sensible that there was no other body in the nation, that could plead their cause, against the oppression of the court. The only alternative that seemed to remain, was to have recourse to some other assembly, more solemn in its character; which should resemble the parliament of England, and consist, in a greater degree, of members from the various orders of the state, and the different provinces of the kingdom. This promised to be a popular measure, as it implied a deference to the people at large. But, the true and legitimate assembly of the nation, had not been convened since the reign of the thirteenth Louis, in the year 1614; nor could the minister flatter himself with obtaining the royal assent to a meeting, which would be regarded with secret jealousy, by a sovereign possessing despotic power. Another assembly had occasionally been substituted, in the room of the states-general; distinguished by the name of *Notables*, and consisting of a number of persons, selected chiefly from the higher orders of the state, and nominated by the king himself. This assembly had been convened by Henry IV., and again by Louis XIII.; and was now summoned, by the authority of the present monarch.

The writs for assembling the notables, were dated on the twenty-ninth of December. They were addressed to seven princes of the blood, nine dukes and peers of France, eight field marshals, twenty-two nobles, eight counsellors of state, four masters of requests, eleven archbishops and bishops, thirty-seven chief officers of the law, twelve deputies of states, and twenty-six magistrates of the different towns of the kingdom; the whole number of members being one-hundred-and-forty-four.

On the twenty-second day of February, M. de 1787. Calonne opened, to the assembly, his long expected plan. He recommended a territorial impost, in nature of the English land-tax, from which no rank or order of men was to be exempted; an inquiry into the possessions of the clergy, which hitherto had been deemed too sacred to bear their proportion of the public burthen: the various branches of internal taxation were also to undergo a strict examination;

and a considerable resource was presented, in mortgaging the demesne lands of the crown.

The ancient nobility, as well as the clergy and magistrates, had always been free from every public assessment; and, had the evil gone no further, it might still have been borne, with patience; but, through the shameful custom of selling patents of nobility, such crowds of new noblesse had started up, that every province of the kingdom was filled with them; and thus, the whole weight of the taxes, fell upon those who were the least able to pay them. There were, in the kingdom, about eighty-thousand families enjoying the privileges of nobility; and, of about one-thousand houses, of which the ancient noblesse is computed to have consisted, not above two or three hundred had retained the means of supporting their rank, without the assistance of the crown.

But the privileged orders, of which the Notables principally consisted, were not sufficiently patriotic, to allow any portion of the public burthen to be shifted from the backs of the people, to their own. Not only the proposed method of increasing the revenue, but the very necessity of the increase itself, was combated, with energetic boldness. Its principal opponents were the celebrated count Mirabeau, and M. de Brienne, archbishop of Toulouse. The minister was much embarrassed. Finding it impossible to stem the opposing torrent, M. de Calonne not only resigned his place, on the twelfth of April, but soon afterwards retired to England, from the storm of persecution. The appointment of the archbishop, to the office of controller-general, though it preserved the appearance of good humour in the assembly, failed to obtain for the court, the object of its wishes. The proposition of a territorial impost, was rejected; and the king seeing no prospect of gaining relief from the convention, dismissed the meeting.

The financial contest was fast hastening towards a crisis. Louis was now compelled to recur to the usual mode of raising money, by royal edicts. Amongst the measures proposed, for this purpose, was a stamp-duty, and the doubling of the poll-tax. The whole were strongly disapproved, by the parliament of Paris; but the last was the particular object of contention; and that assembly, in the most positive terms, refused to register the edict. The king used, as the last resort, his absolute authority; and, by holding what was called *a bed of justice*, a sort of parliament, in which he

himself presided, in person, compelled them to enrol the impost.

The parliament, though defeated, were far from being subdued. They entered a formal protest, against the extorted concession. They declared that it neither ought, nor should have any force; and that the first person who presumed to carry it into execution, should be adjudged a traitor, and condemned to the galleys.

The authority which had been so long exercised by his predecessors, Louis would not consent to surrender, without a struggle. About a week after the parliament had entered the protest, an officer of the French guards, with a party of soldiers, went to the house of each individual member, to signify to him the king's command, that he should immediately proceed to Troyes, a city of Champagne, about seventy miles from Paris; and, before the citizens were acquainted with the transaction, the parliament were on the road to their place of banishment.

It is generally believed, that the queen contributed much to induce her husband to persist in the exercise of arbitrary power; and the king's brother, the count d'Artois, who had expressed himself, in the most unguarded terms, against the perseverance of the parliament, stood exposed to all the hatred of a sensitive and insulted people.

Nor was it in Paris, alone, that the flame of liberty was rekindled. The provincial parliaments imitated that of the capital: the parliament of Grenoble passed a decree against *lettres de cachet*,* the most odious engine of arbitrary power: and declared the execution of them, within their jurisdiction, to be a capital crime.

The resolute firmness of his subjects, could not be withstood, by the vacillating monarch. To regain their affections, after the exile of a month, he consented to restore the parliament of Paris; and also to abandon the project of a territorial impost; and the parliament, on their side, consented to register an edict, by which the archbishop of Toulouse was created first minister of state.

But this harmony was not of long duration. The necessities of the state continued; nor could the deficiencies in the revenue be supplied, except by extraordinary resources.

* Private letters, or mandates, (*sealed letters*,) formerly issued by the kings of France, under the royal signature, for the apprehension of persons obnoxious to the court.

About the middle of November, in a full meeting of the parliament, attended by all the princes of the blood, and the peers of France, the king entered the assembly, and proposed two edicts, for their approbation: the first, for a loan of four-hundred-and-fifty-millions of livres, (nearly eighty-five-millions of dollars;) the second, for the re-establishment of the protestants, in all their ancient civil rights; the latter being a measure long recommended by the parliament, and probably now introduced, by the ministers, to procure a better reception to the loan. The king was soon convinced, that the spirit of the assembly was not subdued, by their recent exile. An animated debate was continued, for nine hours; when, the king, wearied by incessant opposition, suddenly rose, and commanded the edicts to be registered, without delay. This order was unexpectedly opposed, by the duke of Orleans, a cousin of the king; who protested against the whole proceedings of the day, as null and void.

But Louis did not silently pass over so bold an attack upon the authority of the crown. The next day, the duke of Orleans was commanded to retire to one of his seats, a mile from Paris; and the abbé Sabatier and M. Freteau, both members of parliament, who had distinguished themselves in the debate, were imprisoned.

1788. The parliament were not slow, in expressing their feelings, at this act of oppression. Their spirited remonstrance, was again triumphant. Too mild in his disposition, to support the character of a tyrant, the king, in the beginning of the year, recalled the duke of Orleans, to court, and liberated the imprisoned members; and soon afterwards the nation was still further gratified, by the reinstatement of M. Necker, at the head of the finances.

The credit of an individual, seemed, at this moment, to support the tottering state of France. The people flattered themselves, that the national wealth, so long diverted from its proper course, would, by his integrity and ability, be restored to its natural channel. France now groaned beneath a national debt of more than two-hundred-and-eight-millions sterling, or nine-hundred-and-twenty-four-millions of dollars.

To assemble the States-General, was the only expedient that presented itself to Necker. But, no small difficulty occurred, in relation to the number of the representatives of the *tiers état*, or commons. From the reign of Philip the Fair, the period when the third estate or commons had first

been admitted into the assembly of the states-general, to the year 1614, when that body had been last assembled, the influence of that estate had undergone considerable fluctuation: its numbers had occasionally varied; though it had always possessed a greater number of voices, than either of the other orders—the nobility and the clergy—separate; but had never been equal to them, united. The interesting question was now proposed, “whether the representatives of the commons ought to be confined to a third of the number of the states-general, or be allowed a number equal to the other orders combined?” This important question was discussed with unusual ability and warmth. The duke of Orleans joined M. Necker, in the proposed increase to the popular branch of the assembly; and the measure was at length approved by the parliament, and sanctioned by the king.

A retrospective view may, at this stage of our history, be instructive. At no period, since its establishment, had the French monarchy any permanency in its form, or any fixed and recognized prerogatives and powers. Under the first races, the government was elective, the nation was sovereign, and the king simply a military chieftain, depending on the common deliberations, as to the decrees he should enact, or the measures he should undertake. The nation elected its chief: it exercised the legislative power, in the *Champ-de-Mars*. under the presidency of the chief, and the judicial power, as to the courts-leet, under the direction of one of his officers. The sovereignty at length ascended: the *grandeės* despoiled the people of their power, as they themselves were afterwards despoiled of it, by the prince. At this epoch, the monarch had become hereditary,—not, however, as king, but as possessor of the royal fief; the legislative powers then belonging to the *grandeės*, in the parliaments of the barons, and the judicial authority to the vassals, in the seignoral courts. By degrees, there was a still further concentration of the sovereign power: the king at length annulled, or subjugated, the seignoral courts, assumed the legislative power, and made the parliaments of lawyers exercise their judicial functions, in suberviency to the royal will.

The States-General, summoned only on occasions of pressing necessity, to grant subsidies, and composed of the three orders of the nation—the clergy, the noblesse, and the *tiers etat*, (or third estate)—never had a regular existence; and, under Louis XIV., absolute monarchy was definitively

established. From his time, to the revolution, the government of France was arbitrary, rather than despotic: the monarchs had much greater power, than they exercised; their immense authority being resisted only by the feeblest barriers.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

1789. The States-General assembled on the fifth of May. An immense multitude, from all parts, had resorted to Versailles. The pomp of decoration had been prodigiously lavish:—the chantings of music, the benevolent and satisfied air of the king, the beauty and noble deportment of the queen; and, above all, the common expectation; inspired and animated every breast. Yet the people beheld, with pain, the etiquette, the costume, and the subordination of the states, which had been observed in 1614. The clergy, in cassocks, large cloaks, and square bonnets, or in purple robes and lawn sleeves, occupied the first place. Then, came the noblesse, habited in black, having the vest and facing of silver cloth, the cravat of lace, and the hat with a white plume, turned up, in the fashion of Henry IV. The modest commons were in the last place, clothed in black, with a short cloak, muslin cravat, and hat without plumes or loops.

The next day, the royal sitting was held in the hall of the privy treasury. When the deputies and ministers had taken their places, the king made his entry, followed by the queen, the princes, and a brilliant retinue. The hall resounded with applause. Louis seated himself upon his throne, and, when he had put on his hat, the three orders covered themselves, at the same time. The commons, contrary to the usage of the ancient states, imitated, without hesitation, the clergy and the noblesse. The time had passed away, when it was necessary for the third estate to stand uncovered, and speak to the sovereign upon their knees.

The address delivered, by the king, on this occasion, was conciliating and patriotic. He seemed bent upon restoring tranquillity to France. But his recommendation of unanimity to the several orders, was entirely without effect. The elements of which they were composed, were too dissimilar, to be amalgamated by the royal will. The clergy and the noblesse proposed to vote in a distinct chamber, separate from the commons; who were thus to be considered as form-

ing a third and independent branch of the assembly, and would certainly be overpowered, upon every question that affected their privileges, by the combined voices of the other two. The commons insisted that there should be a union of the three orders, in one chamber; and that the votes of the whole assembly should be taken together; by which means, the *tiers etat* would be enabled to exercise that numerical influence, to which they thought themselves entitled, by their number. The clergy and noblesse retired to another hall, and the commons, at the suggestion of the abbé Sieyès, assumed the supreme legislative authority, under the title of the *National Assembly*; and solemnly swore, with the exception of a single individual, that they would not separate, until they had given a constitution to France.

From the epoch of this event, which occurred on the sixteenth of June, may be dated the commencement of the Revolution; when privileged orders, and feudal distinctions, the stupendous fabric of ecclesiastical authority, and the magnificence and power of the ancient monarchy of France, crumbled into ruin, beneath the breath of a nation, awakened, by the pressure of misgovernment, into action.

It was not until the twenty-seventh of June, that the feeble attempts of the clergy and nobles, were overwhelmed, by the numbers and resolution of the commons, and a reunion of the three orders was effected. The nobles had amongst them many popular dissidents. The majority of the clergy, also, composed of some bishops, friends of peace, and a numerous class of curates, were favourably inclined towards the commons.

Bailly, the celebrated astronomer, then presided over the assembly. This virtuous citizen, without seeking for honours, had received all that the rising spirit of liberty could confer. He was the first president of the assembly, as he had been the first deputy of Paris, and was to be its first mayor.

It was at this period of public agitation, that the memorable society of the Friends of the People, since called Jacobins, in allusion to their place of meeting, was formed. Its members corresponded with all parts of France; and, possessed of a rare union of talents and enthusiasm, it gave a tone to the national voice, that responded, with impressive harmony, from all points of the kingdom; and finally plunged the nation into anarchy and bloodshed.

Histories more voluminous than this, must be consulted for the details of the imprudent and unsuccessful struggle, maintained, with the National Assembly, by the court. The impulse now given to the revolution, could not be arrested, by so feeble a hand as that of Louis. The high-toned counsels of his brothers, and his queen, instead of impeding, served only to accelerate its progress. The angry countenance of the Parisians, foretold the approaching storm. Several prisons were forced, the debtors and criminals set free, and the French guards loudly invited to abandon the cause of despotism, and range themselves beneath the standard of liberty.

Large bodies of troops were directed, by the court, to march towards Paris; a considerable camp was formed near the gates of the capital; the avenues to Versailles were guarded, by a formidable artillery; numerous sentinels were stationed around Paris; and the marshal de Broglie, grown gray in the wars of Germany, was summoned to command the forces assembled in the isle of France.

The capital, at this time, bore, with impatience, the high price of bread; the murmurs of the inhabitants were general and loud; and it was at this moment, when the greatest address was necessary, to sooth their discontented minds, that the court ventured upon a measure, as unpopular, as it was unwise. On the eleventh of July, Necker, who had so long enjoyed the confidence of the multitude, received the royal orders immediately to quit the kingdom. The intelligence of his departure, filled Paris with consternation. The people regarded his exile as the first step towards the subversion of their freedom. The bells were sounded, as signals for the citizens to arm. The regiment of French guards ranged itself on the side of the populace. The crowd attacked the hotel of invalids; and, having there got possession of thirty-thousand fuses, pressed forward to the Bastille. The massy walls of this celebrated fortress of despotism, with the wide and deep ditch that surrounded them, might have defied the frantic valour of the insurgents, had they been confided to any other person, than the marquis de Launay. But, the conduct of that officer was equally fatal to his life and reputation. He rejected the demand of the people, to remove the artillery from the ramparts, yet he neglected to raise the draw-bridge, and suffered a crowd to place themselves upon it. On these unhappy people, who

peaceably awaited the result of a parley which he held, he suddenly fired. Several were the victims of this guilty rashness; but the populace, instead of being intimidated, were only irritated, by the fate of their companions: they pressed forward, in thousands, to avenge them: resistance was in vain: after a siege of nearly five hours, each avenue was forced, de Launay, a prisoner, loaded with insults, was dragged to the place of public execution, and his head, severed from his body, was carried, in triumph, through the streets.

In the gloomy apartments of this justly dreaded state-prison, was found, amongst other engines of cruelty, an iron cage, containing the skeleton of a man, who had probably lingered out a considerable part of his existence, in that horrid abode. Amongst the prisoners, released by its destruction, were major White, a native of Scotland, and the count de Lorges. The former, by long confinement and misery, appeared to have his intellectual faculties much impaired; and, from being unaccustomed to converse with mankind, had forgotten the use of speech: the latter was exhibited, to the public, at the Palais Royal; and, by his squalid appearance, his white beard, which descended to his waist, and his imbecility, the effect of an imprisonment of two-and-thirty years, was rendered an object perfectly calculated to operate upon the passions of every spectator. The walls of the Bastile, were levelled, by the populace, to the ground. The great key of the outer gate, was afterwards presented, by La Fayette, to his friend and fellow-soldier, general Washington; and is now preserved, as a trophy of the French revolution, at Mount-Vernon.

If the state of the capital was deplorable, that of the army was not less critical. The example of the French guards, had pervaded the camp: the soldiers openly declared their resolution not to arm against their fellow-citizens; the defection became general, and marshal Broglie was reluctantly compelled to inform the king, that his majesty must no longer place any reliance upon the forces which he had been appointed to command. The example of Paris and Versailles prevailed throughout the kingdom. The new national, or tricoloured cockade, was universally displayed, and the voice of the people was every where predominant. Two-millions of peasants, in arms, severely avenged the wrongs they had formerly suffered. The rich edifices of

the church, the lofty castles of the nobles, were confounded, in one general ruin: the archives of the great, the titles of ancient possessions, were, in a moment, destroyed; and those owners deemed themselves happy, who could escape, by a hasty flight.

At Marseilles, a body of young men seized upon a fort, in which the military were posted, expelled the garrison, and demolished it, together with the two fortresses of St. Nicholas and St. John; on the latter of which, a Latin inscription had long insulted that venerable city, to this effect,—“This tower was erected, by Louis XIV., lest his faithful people of Marseilles, should become infatuated with the love of liberty.”

The marquis de la Fayette was selected, by his countrymen, to command the militia which they had newly formed, called the National Guards.

The calm, however, which the presence of the king had diffused throughout the capital, was deceitful, and of short duration. The slightest suspicions were sufficient, in the eyes of the populace, to sanction the most barbarous executions; and each day beheld some new sacrifice to their sanguinary caprice. M. de Foulon, a member of the new administration, with his nephew Berthier, and the sieur Chatel, lieutenant to the mayor of St. Dennis, were put to death, with every circumstance of furious triumph. The flight of more illustrious persons, saved them, it is probable, from a similar fate. The count d'Artois, the prince of Condé, and the prince of Conti, the marshal de Bröglio, and the family of Polignac, sought shelter, in foreign countries, from the popular vengeance; thus, commencing the emigration; and many others soon followed their example, and, with several of the former, employed themselves in exciting all Europe to war against their native land.

Meanwhile, the reformation of the state was discussed, by the national assembly, with indefatigable zeal. The cruel and outrageous parts of the feudal claims, and every branch of the ancient system of society, were examined, with a most scrutinizing eye. In some cantons, the vassals were subjected to be yoked, like cattle, to the carriages of the nobility; in others, they were compelled to pass whole nights, in beating the ponds, in order that the rest of their superior lords might not be disturbed, by the croaking of frogs; in some, the poor were obliged to maintain the noblemen's

hounds; and the lord, on his return from hunting, was authorized to rip open the bowels of two of his vassals, that he might foment his feet, for his refreshment.

Feudal services, were, by a resolution of the assembly, abolished; also, the game-laws, *lettres de cachet*, with distinctions of dress, and tythes. On the motion of M. Talleyrand de Perigord, bishop of Autun, the estates of the church were appropriated to the public service; and, on the proposition of M. Lambel, supported by La Fayette, de St. Fargeau, and the count de Noailles, hereditary nobility, and every species of titles,—in which, were included even monsieur and madame,—were abolished, together with liveries, armorial bearings, and every thing that had hitherto decorated and distinguished polished life. The ancient divisions of the kingdom, into provinces, were likewise changed; and France was now divided into eighty-three departments, nearly equal in dimensions and population; in conformity with a plan presented by the abbé Sieyes.

The motion for the abolition of titles, was warmly combated, by M. Foucault.—“What,” he asked, “would you do with the man whose brevet recited that he was created a count, for saving the state?”—La Fayette, with Attic sententiousness, replied “I would omit the words, *created a count*, and insert only, that *he had saved the state*.”

The amazing wealth, possessed by nineteen archbishops, and one-hundred-and-twenty-two bishops; the immense revenues belonging to twelve-hundred-and-eighty-eight abbeys, twelve-thousand-four-hundred priories, and fourteen-thousand-seven-hundred-and-eighty convents, might well excite the surprise, and envy also, of the people.

The constitution, which had been promised by the assembly, was at length completed, and with it, a declaration of the Rights of Man. Of the former, three drafts were selected, from a considerable number, presented by various members;—these, the respective productions of La Fayette, the abbé Sieyes, and Mounier, were, on the motion of Mirabeau, published, and afterwards condensed, by a committee, into nineteen resolutions; many of them being similar, in their principles, to the leading features of the constitution of Great Britain and of the United States; and the first declaring, that all power was originally derived from the people, and could continue to flow from that source alone:

In the revolution, which thus gradually unfolds itself, the

mind of the reader is scarcely cheered by the prospect of tranquillity, before it is again overcast, by the gathering storms of civil commotion. The hopes arising from the expected influence of the new constitution, were blasted by the chilling breath of famine. Neither the exertions of the committee of subsistence, nor the precautions of the minister of finance, nor the liberality of the duke of Orleans, who devoted his immense revenue, to alleviate the public distress, could prevent the Parisians from being assailed by that scarcity, which still afflicted France, and was felt, in some measure, by the neighbouring kingdoms. The progress of discontent was rapid and frightful. On the fifth of October, a young woman, having entered a guard-house, seized a drum, and ran through the streets, beating it, and crying, *Bread! Bread!* Several thousand, of the most licentious and daring of the rabble, chiefly women, soon collected, from the markets and public halls, armed with fuses, pistols, staves, and pikes, and every weapon that their blind fury could supply; and, dragging two pieces of cannon, set out for Versailles, distant about twelve miles; and, having rushed, tumultuously, into the hall of the national assembly, and afterwards, in the dead of night, invaded, with terrific fury, the royal palace, and even the bed-chamber of the queen, they compelled Louis himself to accompany them to Paris.

The queen was resolved to follow her husband; but the opposition was so strong against her, that the journey was not without danger. It was necessary to reconcile the multitude; and La Fayette proposed to accompany her to the balcony. After some hesitation, she consented. They appeared together; and, in order to make himself understood, by this tumultuous assembly;—in order to overcome their animosities—to revive their enthusiasm—La Fayette kissed, with the profoundest respect, the hand of the queen, and the multitude responded, by a general shout of *Vive la Reine!*

The carriages of the royal family, were placed in the middle of an immeasurable column, consisting partly of the soldiers of La Fayette, partly of the rabble, whose march had preceded his. The latter rushed along, howling their songs of triumph. Their van carried, on pikes, the bloody heads of two of the royal body-guards, whom they had murdered, as emblems of their success; and were singing songs, of which the burthen was—“We bring you the baker, his wife, and his little apprentice;” as if the presence of the

unhappy family, would increase the quantity of bread. Some of the women rode upon the cannon; many of them were mounted on the horses of the *guards de corps*, (whom they had dismounted) some after the fashion of men, others behind the saddle; the whole exhibiting one of the most ferocious and disgusting spectacles, that ever disgraced a civilized people.

M. Necker now silently abandoned his station: the national assembly removed also to the capital, and the power of the sovereign was reduced to an empty shadow.

1790. Throughout the year which succeeded these important events, the zeal of the assembly, for the public welfare, did not become less ardent. On the fourteenth of July, the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastile, a grand national festival was celebrated, in the Champ de Mars; at which, the king, in presence of a million of citizens, swore that he would employ the whole power delegated to him, to maintain the constitution, and enforce the execution of the law.

Trial by jury, in civil cases, was soon afterwards established: the law of primogeniture, by which the eldest son, on the death of his ancestor, intestate, enjoys the whole of his real estate, was repealed; and it was decreed, that the property of persons dying without having made a will, should be equally divided amongst his children, or his relations in the next degree: the protestants were restored to those possessions of which their ancestors had been deprived, by the revocation of the edict of Nantz: all extraordinary taxes on the Jews, were abolished; as well as the execrable *droit d'aubaine*, which decreed to the king, the property of foreigners who died in France.*

It was also decreed, that the legislative body should be elected every second year; that it should annually determine the amount of the public expenditure and contributions; that the appointment of ministers should be vested in the king, but that their number should be regulated by law; that, under the king, an administration should be established, in each department, for the regulation and collection of the revenue; and that, to supply the place of current coin, which was continually carried off by the emigrants, emissions should be made of national promissory notes, called assignats.

* This law is most happily satirized, by Sterne, in his *Sentimental Journey*.

On the thirty-first of October, a decree was passed, by which the national flag of France, which hitherto had been white, was changed to the tricoloured, or flag composed of three vertical stripes, of blue, red, and white.

1791. But the national assembly was soon deprived of one of its most brilliant members. On the second of April, Mirabeau was suddenly carried off, by an internal disease, in the forty-third year of his age. With a mind vigorous and comprehensive, intuitive and acute, severely tried in adversity, intimate with the intrigues and follies, the dissipations and other vices of courts; his deep penetration, his fortitude, his fluent eloquence, his powerful voice, were all adapted to command attention. Uniting a talent for repartee, with the powers of profound reasoning, he was always ready to disconcert or refute. Few statesmen possessed more extensive views; few orators have been capable of bolder flights, of a more passionate address, or a more energetic expression. His funeral was conducted with extraordinary pomp; and his remains were deposited near those of the great philosopher, Des Cartes; but, in the following year, the fickle populace, with every mark of ignominy, dispersed his ashes in the air.

The public attention was soon turned from honouring the memory of an individual, to making provision for the safety of the nation. The princes at the head of despotic governments, were interested in crushing the present revolution, and extinguishing a flame which threatened to consume themselves. A league was, at length, formed, against the rising liberties of France, by the most powerful sovereigns of the continent. Troops were advancing, from Germany, on the north, from Spain, on the south, and from Italy and Savoy, on the east; the emigrant troops had been reviewed, by the prince of Condé, on the borders of Alsace; and France might be said to be besieged by hostile armies.

To deprive the associate powers of every apology for invasion, by showing them that Louis acquiesced in the late reformation of the state, the king, at the request of the department of Paris, notified to them, through his ambassadors, his full approbation of the constitution. But, while he made this declaration, with so much seeming cordiality, he was evidently corresponding with the invaders of his country, and preparing to escape. On the twentieth of June, about midnight, the whole of the royal family, then at Paris, secret-

ly left the palace, in disguise; and, having reached the boulevards, there found two carriages in waiting; in which, they proceeded towards the frontier. The king had, in general Bouillé, a devoted and active partisan, who promised him a refuge and support in his army. Bouillé prepared every thing for his reception. Under a pretext of a movement of the enemy's troops on the frontier, he established a camp at Montmedy; and placed detachments of cavalry, upon the route which the king was to follow, to serve as an escort; pretending that they were to protect the military chest, destined for the payment of the army. The king and queen, the dauphin and princess royal, with the king's sister, were in one carriage; the king's brother, the count of Provence, with his wife, were in another. Louis, with his party, passed unsuspected, nearly one-hundred-and-seventy miles from Paris; although he had entered into familiar conversation with different people, at several post-houses, where they had occasion to stop. To favour their escape, the royal family had procured passports, in the name of the baroness de Kroff, for herself and suite, as travelling to Frankfort. But, all their precautions were not sufficient, to prevent detection. At St. Menchould, a few leagues from the frontiers, the postmaster, Drouet, who had formerly been a dragoon, in the regiment of Condé, recognized the queen. He set off, on horseback, for Clermont; where he learned, that the travellers had taken the road to Varennes; towards which place, he proceeded, by cross roads, with so much speed, as to reach the inn of *Bras d'Or*, a few minutes before them. The innkeeper instantly ran to a magistrate, who summoned the municipal officers and the national guards. It was now midnight, the royal party had arrived, and measures were taken to ensure their detention. While the magistrates were proceeding to the inn, Drouet seized a wagon, laden with furniture, which he placed at the foot of a bridge, over which the travellers must necessarily pass, in their way out of the town. Several persons noticed the resemblance of the king, to the portrait on the fifty-livre assignat; others remarked, that the children corresponded, in number and age, to the children of the royal family; and all agreed, that it was very extraordinary a Russian baroness should be so strongly escorted by French troops.

Meanwhile, a judge of the district, who had frequently seen Louis, was sent for, and, on his entering the apartment,

in which the royal family were now assembled, signified, by an expressive look, to one of the magistrates, that it was unquestionably the king. The unhappy prince saw that further dissimulation would be vain; and, addressing himself, with great emotion, to the magistrates,—“Yes,” said he, “I am your king. I have fled from Paris, where I was surrounded with poniards and bayonets: I have come to my faithful subjects of this province, in search of liberty and safety; I mean to proceed no further than Montmedy—I entreat you not to impede me.”

The queen also addressed them, and conjured all around, to save herself and her children. But the magistrates were inflexible, and declared that they must immediately return to Paris.

The royal family were escorted, on their return, by a considerable body of the national guards; and so well was the public tranquillity preserved, that they entered the city, without any disturbance, on the twenty-fifth.

The count of Provence and his wife, who had taken a different road, were more successful, in effecting their escape; and arrived safely at Brussels, on the twenty-third.

The period now approached, when the national assembly, known also as the Constituent Assembly, was to terminate its labours. On the thirtieth of September, having first provided for the introduction of the succeeding members, this illustrious body of patriotic legislators, concluded an uninterrupted session of two years and eight months, and spontaneously dissolved itself.

With the first national assembly, the power and dignity of the monarchy disappeared. Unhappily for France, the constituent assembly had adopted a regulation, by which its members were rendered ineligible to the assembly by which it was to be succeeded. As the former contained the first choice amongst men of ability throughout the nation, it followed that the latter could not possess an equal degree of talent. The new assembly, distinguished by the name of the Legislative Assembly, which convened on the first day of October, consisted chiefly of country gentlemen; whose inexperience in political affairs, rendered them incompetent to act for themselves, and made them the passive instruments of a party, which, though not numerous, compensated, for this deficiency, by its talents, activity, and boldness. This party consisted chiefly of men of letters; many of them, but

not all, of the highest rank in literature. They were not unanimous, on every point of government; but, in this, however, they agreed, that no other than a pure democracy, was adapted to the condition of freemen; and that France could never be happy and flourishing, until every vestige of monarchy was destroyed.

Pastoret was elected president; and, for their secretaries, they chose François, Garron de Coulon, Cerutte, Lacedepe, and Guyton Morveau.

The state of the public mind, at home, and the grand conspiracy abroad, were seized upon, with avidity and alarm, by the Jacobin society; who, at this period, had obtained the plenitude of influence and power. While their sittings were held at Versailles, as well as after their removal to Paris, public topics were systematically debated by them; particularly such as had become the subject of discussion in the assembly. Their debates were open to the public; and the plaudits of the galleries incited to general emulation. They had a president and secretary, kept a minute of their proceedings, and appeared, in every respect, an epitome of the national assembly; of whose members, the society was likewise principally composed.

The ascendancy of the Jacobin club, was soon evinced, in the appointment of ministers. Dumourier and Lacoste, two of its leading members, were nominated to two of the vacant departments, of foreign affairs and the marine; and, soon afterwards, on the twenty-third of March, the king announced the appointment of three more of the popular party, Garniere, Roland, and Claviere. Dumourier and Roland were the most remarkable, and the most important members of the council.

“Dumourier was forty-seven years of age, at the commencement of the revolution. Up to that time, he had lived amidst the dissipations and the intrigues of the court. The first part of his political life, was spent in discovering those by whom he might rise, and the second, those who were able to support his elevation. A courtier before '89, a Constitutionalist under the first assembly, a Girondist under the second, a Jacobin under the republic, he was eminently the creature of the time. But, he had all the resources of great men—an enterprising disposition, indefatigable activity, and prompt, accurate, and extended views; extraordinary impetuosity in action, and unbounded confidence in success.”

“Roland was a contrast to Dumourier. His manners were simple, his morals severe, and his opinions tried: he loved liberty, with enthusiasm; and was equally capable of consecrating to its cause, the whole of his existence, or of perishing for its sake, without ostentation, and without regret. He was a man worthy of being born in a republic, but was misplaced in a revolution. He was ill-fitted for the agitations and struggles of parties; his talents were not great; his disposition was rather unbending; he knew neither how to appreciate, nor how to govern men; and, though laborious, intelligent, and active, he would have figured little, without the aid of his wife. All that was deficient in him, was supplied by her—force and elevation of mind, ability, and foresight. Madame Roland was the soul of the Girondists. She was the point around which assembled those brilliant and courageous men, to discuss the wants and the dangers of their country. It was she who roused those whom she knew to be able in action, and directed to the tribune the efforts of those whom she knew to be eloquent.”*

The court named the new council, the *Sans-Culotte ministry*.† The first time that Roland appeared at the palace, with strings in his shoes, and a round hat, which were against the rules of etiquette, the master of the ceremonies refused to admit him. But, forced, at length, to allow him to pass, he thus addressed Dumourier: “What, Sir, without buckles in his shoes!”—“Aye, Sir, all is lost!” replied Dumourier, with the greatest coolness.

This period is remarkable for the introduction of the Guillotine, as a substitute for the axe, in decapitation; an instrument which derived its name from a surgeon, by whom it was invented.

Amongst the calamities, which, at this time, agitated the nation, the dissensions incited by the clergy were not the least grievous and important. They were increased by the presumptuous interference of the court of Rome. The pope

* The deputies of the Gironde, sat at the left side of the Assembly, and gave name to the party called Girondists, who were moderate republicans.

† The literal signification of “*sans culotte*,” is, “*without breeches*.” The queen had applied it, as a sarcasm on the representatives of the people; implying, that fellows without breeches, had become the governors; and thenceforward, it was adopted, as a title of pride, by the republicans.

had prohibited the clergy, under the most terrific anathemas, from conforming to the decrees of the French legislature, and from subscribing to the civic oath. In consequence of which, a decree was passed, which expelled, from their benefices, all who, paying obedience to a foreign authority, should be so disregarding of their duty to their country, as to oppose its laws; and thus, there remained, in the heart of France, an immense body of disaffected persons, united amongst themselves, obedient to a foreign hierarchy, looking confidently to the king, and possessing an influence over the minds of the people, capable of being turned to the desolation of the country, and yet difficult to be suppressed.

While the emperor was making preparations against the French nation, in a clandestine manner, the northern powers were more open and decided. Prussia, Sweden, and Russia, entered into strict engagements, for the restoration of the ancient despotism of France.

The French, on their part, were not remiss, in preparing against the approaching storm. La Fayette had already proceeded to assume the command, on the frontiers; Rochambeau and Luckner were now promoted to the rank of marshals; new levies were ordered, and the whole country assumed the garb of war.

1792. The sudden death of the emperor Leopold, produced no change in the councils of the Austrian court. His son, Francis II., (brother of the queen of France) pursued the same designs, and on the twentieth of April, by the recommendation of Louis himself, to the assembly, war was formally declared against him.

On the twenty-eighth, three divisions of French troops entered the Austrian Netherlands, under the respective commands of field-marshal Arthur Dillon, and generals Biron and Carl. But, from a want of proper concert in their movements, their operations were unsuccessful: after several engagements, they were obliged to retreat; and the unfortunate Dillon, being unjustly suspected of having betrayed his army, was murdered, by his flying companions, as soon as they had entered the gates of Lisle, and his dead body torn to pieces, by the soldiers and the mob.

Indignant at the mismanagement of ministers, and disapproving of offensive war, Rochambeau asked permission to resign, and marshal Luckner was appointed to command the northern forces, in his stead.

While the army was thus making its first essay in the field, the republican party were assiduously employed, in the legislative hall. The last stone of the fabric of monarchical government, was about to be overturned. Danton is said to have been the first to conceive and form the bold project of the republic. But, there were others, whose lives having been devoted to political studies, had, without any concert with Danton and his associates, long turned their attention to the same object. The chief of these were Condorcet, Brissot, and Thomas Paine (the latter already distinguished, in the American states, by the vigour of his pen) who had established a gazette, called *Le Republicain*; in the very first number of which, their principles were openly avowed.

On the twelfth of June, the king may be said to have unsheathed the sword. He announced, to the assembly, the dismissal of Servan, Claviere, and Roland; a step taken at the desire of Dumourier; whose application of a considerable sum of the public money, to the use of his mistress, madame de Beauvert, had excited the remonstrance of the virtuous Roland.

On the eighteenth, general Chambon was appointed minister for foreign affairs, Montceil of the interior, and Lajard minister of war.

Deeply interesting events followed each other, with the rapidity of thought. With good intentions, but little wisdom, La Fayette addressed a letter to the assembly, from his camp, at Maubege; in which, he drew a formidable picture of the dangerous state of the nation, and accused the Jacobins of criminal designs. The Jacobins denounced him, as a traitor. Their meetings became scenes of unusual turbulence; and, without doors, the spirit of disorder hourly increased. On the twentieth, a multitude of men, women, and children, in number at least twenty-thousand, traversed the hall of the assembly, with a petition; displaying banners of a revolutionary character, and singing the famous national air of *ça ira*! Thence, they proceeded to the royal palace. There was a strong military guard, for the protection of the king, but Louis would not allow them to be repelled by force. At four o'clock, the populace were computed at forty-thousand; and the gates of the Tuileries were thrown open, to admit them. The royal family were at dinner, and a pike, which had been thrust against the door of the room in which they sat, would have killed the king, had not a chasseur turned aside the

weapon, with his hand. One of the mob now advanced, and insisted upon Louis wearing a red cap, (the ensign of the Jacobins,) which was presented to him, on the point of a pike; while another presented to him a bottle, and desired him to drink the health of the nation; with both of which insulting requests, he, with apparent willingness, complied.

During the whole of this disgraceful tumult, the princess Elizabeth continued close by the side of her brother. On the first breaking in of the rabble, the queen fainted, and, with her children, was accidentally separated from her husband, and conveyed to the apartment of the king's physician. As soon as she recovered, she attempted to penetrate to the king, but was stopped, in her way, by the mob breaking into the council-chamber. Fortunately, Lajard, the minister of war, and a military officer, had retired to the same spot; the minister formed a kind of rampart, of the great council-table, which he placed against the door, with a double row of national guards before it. Behind the table, stood the queen, with her children and some ladies; in which situation, she remained, during the whole time of this brutal visit; condemned to hear the most indecent reproaches, from the meanest and most depraved of her own sex.

The approach of night delivered the unhappy family from this persecution. The mayor persuaded the people to disperse, and, between eight and nine o'clock, these unwelcome intruders left the palace.

La Fayette now conceived it expedient to present himself before the assembly. He appeared at the bar, and demanded, in the name of his army, that order, obedience, and respect for the laws, should be restored; and entreated the assembly to save his country from ruin, by dissolving the factious clubs, and punishing the promoters of the late disgraceful riots.

To speak in the mildest terms, the conduct of La Fayette was, in this instance, most imprudent. The Jacobins were filled with indignation. The appellations of Cromwell and Monk were applied to him, by a thousand presses; and the popular dislike proceeded so far, as to burn him in effigy. In the assembly, he was violently attacked: a design was formed to arrest him; and, to escape the danger to which he had exposed himself, he left the city, on the thirtieth, and set out directly for the army.

At length, an insulting and sanguinary manifesto, issued at

Coblentz, on the twenty-fifth of July, by the duke of Brunswick, commander-in-chief of the Austrian and Prussian armies, reached Paris. The emperor and the king of Prussia, in their joint proclamation, had asserted, that "the king was not sincere, in accepting the constitution:"—this manifesto contained the same insinuation; and, unfortunately, the public measures, as well as the private deportment of the king and the court, gave strong probability to the assertion. This fatal declaration accomplished the total overthrow of the French monarchy. There was but one wish, one cry of resistance, from one end of France to the other; and whoever had not joined in it, would have been regarded as guilty of impiety to his country, and the sacred cause of its independence. On the third of August, Petion, the mayor of Paris, at the head of the sections of the city, appeared, at the bar, to demand the deposition of the king; and a petition, to the same effect, which had lain on the altar of the Champ de Mars, was presented, on the sixth, by a countless multitude, preceded by a person carrying a pike, crowned with a red cap; upon which, was inscribed "The deposition of the King." The tenth was appointed for the discussion of this momentous subject. The movements of the populace were terrific. No alternatives now remained, to the unhappy monarch, but flight, or resistance, by force of arms. Preparations were made for both. The Tuilleries were put in a state of defence, and no hope of the return of harmony or peace remained. Even the national guards evinced disaffection to the king. The palace was attacked. A dreadful scene ensued; the Swiss guards, the gentlemen ushers, the pages, and all who came in the way of the insurgents, were cut to pieces; while the king and queen, with the rest of the royal family, escorted by a body of three-hundred Swiss, having taken shelter in the hall of the assembly, thus gained a respite from the fury of the mob.

Almost every species of enormity was perpetrated, upon this occasion, except pillage. An ordinary workman of the suburbs, in a dress which implied abject poverty, made his way into the place where the royal family were seated; demanding the king, by the name of Monsieur Veto.* "So, you are here," he said, "beast of a Veto. There, is a purse of

* The term *veto*, (I forbid,) alludes to a power, vested in Louis, by the first revolutionary constitution, of refusing his sanction to any particular law, of which he disapproved.

gold, I found in your house yonder. If you had found mine, you would not have been so honest."

One band after another, of the ruthless violators of the royal mansion, their faces blackened with powder, their hands and weapons streaming with blood, came to invoke the vengeance of the assembly, on the head of the king and royal family; and expressed, in the very presence of the victims, whom they claimed, their expectations and commands, as to the manner in which they wished them to be treated.

Meanwhile, the assembly continued their deliberations. The authority vested, by the constitution, in the king, was revoked; the people were invited to meet, in primary assemblies, and form a national convention; the following day, a new executive council was appointed, consisting of Roland, Servan, Claviere, Monge, Danton, and Le Brun; and the royal family were imprisoned in the temple. This building is an ancient fortress, so called from the order of Knights-Templars; to whom, before their suppression, it belonged.

Petion, the mayor, studiously insulted Louis, by his visits to the prison. The municipal officers, sent thither, to ensure the custody of his person, and to be spies upon his private conversation, were selected amongst the worst and most malignant Jacobins. Those, also, who kept watch without, were equally ready to contribute their share of insult. Pictures and placards, representing the royal family under the hands of the executioner, were posted up where the king and queen might see them. The most violent patriotic songs, alluding to the death of Monsieur and Madame Veto, were sung below their windows; and the most frightful cries for their blood, disturbed their rest. Every article was taken from the king, even his tooth-pick and penknife; and the queen and princesses were deprived of their house-wives and scissors. This led to an affecting remark of Louis. Seeing his sister, while at work, obliged to bite asunder a thread, which she had no means of cutting, "Ah," he exclaimed, "you wanted nothing, in your pretty house at Montreuil!"—"Dearest brother," replied the affectionate princess, "can I complain of any thing, since Heaven has preserved me to share, and to comfort, in some degree, your hours of captivity?"—The prisoners enjoyed, in the best way they could, a short interval, during which they were allowed to walk in the gardens of the Temple; sure of being insulted by the

sentinels, who puffed volumes of tobacco smoke in their faces, as they passed them, while others annoyed the ears of the females with licentious songs.

Louis had no other attendant than a single servant, Cléry, who was, at the same time, the attendant of all his family. During the early part of his detention, he had not been separated from the latter, and he had experienced some consolation from the society of his family: he encouraged and consoled his wife and sister; and officiated as preceptor to his son. He read a great deal, and particularly in the History of England, by Hume; in which, he found many instances of deposed Kings, particularly that of Charles I., who had been beheaded, and James II., who had been driven from his country, by the nation.

The rage of the populace was not confined to the living objects of their resentment. They demolished every vestige of art, which had the remotest relation either to monarchy or aristocracy: even the statue of Henry IV., so long the idol of the popular party, was broken to pieces, merely because it was the statue of a king; and the busts of Necker, Mirabeau, and La Fayette, and of all the leading members of the constitutional party, were destroyed.

La Fayette received early information of these ferocious tumults. His situation was truly dangerous. As a friend to the constitutional monarchy, his life was not secure, even within his own camp: on the nineteenth of August, therefore, he left his army, accompanied only by his staff, and a few servants, and took the route of Rocheforte, in Liege; which, being a neutral country, he hoped to pass unmolested; but, an Austrian general being stationed there, with an advanced party, arrested the fugitives, contrary to the law of nations, and sent them prisoners to Namur; whence, they were conveyed successively, to the noisome dungeons of Wesel, Magdeburg, Glatz, and Neisse, and finally to that of Olmutz; for no other crime, or rather, under no other pretext, than that of having been members of the national assembly of France.

The sufferings are almost incredible, to which La Fayette and his companions were exposed, at Olmutz, through the mere spirit of barbarous revenge. The walls of their dungeon were twelve feet thick; and air was admitted through an opening only two feet square, secured by transverse iron bars. Directly before this loop-hole, was situated a broad

ditch, which was covered with water only when it rained: at other times, it was a stagnated marsh, constantly emitting a poisonous effluvium:—beyond this, were the outer walls of the castle, so that although the heat was almost insupportable, the miserable captives could never be refreshed by the slightest breeze. On these walls, were stationed sentinels, with loaded muskets, who were prohibited to speak a word to them, and ordered to shoot them dead, if they attempted an escape. A miserable bed of rotten straw, together with a broken chair, and an old worm-eaten table, formed the whole furniture of each apartment. When it rained, the water flowed through the loop-holes, and off the walls, in so large quantities, that they would sometimes awake in the morning drenched to the skin; and, when the sun did not shine, which frequently happened in that humid country, the prisoners remained during the whole day almost in total darkness. The sufferings of La Fayette were peculiarly severe, and proved beyond his strength. The want of air, and of decent food, and the loathsome filth and dampness of his prison, brought him, more than once, to the borders of the grave; and, at one period, he was reduced so low, that his hair fell entirely from his head.

But his friends were not inactive. In the month of June, 1794, they prevailed upon Dr. Erick Bollmann, whose adventurous and philanthropic spirit easily induced him to engage in the affairs of La Fayette, to proceed to Germany, to learn what had been the fate of the unfortunate patriot, and, if he were still alive, endeavour to procure his escape.

Exploring Germany, in the character of a traveller in pursuit of knowledge, he discovered that La Fayette had been surrendered to the Austrian government, and had taken the route towards Olmutz; a strong fortress in Moravia, and distant from Vienna about one-hundred-and-fifty miles. The indefatigable inquiries of the philanthropic Bollmann, recall to our minds, the anxious search of the troubadour for Richard Cœur de Lion. At Olmutz, he ascertained that several state prisoners were confined in the citadel, with an unusual degree of mystery and caution. It seemed highly probable, that La Fayette was one of the unhappy captives; and, acting upon this supposition, the doctor visited the hospital, and endeavoured to form an acquaintance with the surgeon. The surgeon proved to be a man of intelligence and feeling. After several interviews, when the conversation turned upon the

effect of moral impressions on the constitution, Dr. Bollmann, drawing a pamphlet from his pocket, abruptly said; "Since we are on the subject, you attend the state prisoners here; La Fayette is one of them; his health is much impaired; show him this pamphlet: tell him that it was left with you by a traveller, who lately saw, in London, all the persons named in it—his particular friends; that they are well, and continue attached to him, as much as ever. This intelligence will do him more good than all your drugs."—

The manner of the surgeon convinced Dr. Bollmann, that La Fayette was at Olmutz; and he knew that the general would devise means to profit by the opportunity, should he receive this pamphlet. A few days afterwards, the surgeon mentioned, of his own accord, that La Fayette wished to learn some further particulars respecting the situation of one or two of them, whom he named. On hearing this, the doctor appearing to have accidentally about him some white paper, but which had, in fact, been prepared for the emergency, sat immediately down, and wrote a few lines, in French, which language the surgeon understood, in reply to the inquiries made; and finished with the sentence, "I am glad of the opportunity of addressing to you these few words, which, when read with your usual warmth, will afford, to a heart like yours, some consolation."—The paper had previously been written upon with sympathetic ink; a writing which is invisible, unless rendered legible by the application of heat.—The slight hint conveyed in the last sentence, was sufficient; and La Fayette became acquainted with the doctor's project.

Preparations having been made, Dr. Bollmann visited several gentlemen on their estates in Moravia, and took an opportunity of again stopping at Olmutz, where he called upon the surgeon, who returned him the pamphlet, formerly left for La Fayette. He found that the margin had been written over with sympathetic ink—lime-juice—and, on applying heat, learned that the captive, on account of his enfeebled state of health, had, at length, obtained permission to take an airing, in a carriage, on stated days of the week, accompanied by a military guard; and that by far the easiest mode of restoring him to liberty, would be to attack the guard, on one of these excursions, and carry him suddenly away.

The heroic Bollmann was not slow in preparing to execute his bold design. Having ascertained, that La Fayette,

in taking his leave, sat in an open carriage, with an officer by his side, a driver on the box, and two armed soldiers standing behind, he returned to Vienna. One coadjutor, at least, being indispensable, he communicated his project to a young American gentleman,—Francis Kinloch Huger, who had often mentioned to him, that La Fayette, on arriving in America, first landed at his father's house, in South Carolina, and there used often to caress him, on his knees, when a boy.* The warm-hearted and enthusiastic Huger, promptly entered into the whole design, and devoted himself to its execution, with the most romantic earnestness.

These were the only two persons, except La Fayette himself, informed of the intended rescue; and neither of them knew the captive general, by sight. But difficulties are no obstacle, in the minds of the generous and brave. On the eighth day of November (1794) they reached Olmutz; and their servant was despatched, at an early hour, to Hoff, a post-town, about twenty-five miles distant, with orders to have fresh horses ready at four o'clock.

The interesting moment was approaching. Success would restore a gallant patriot to liberty and health;—a failure might draw still tighter the shackles of a cruel bondage, and hasten his wretched passage to a horrid grave.—To avoid all mistakes, it had been concerted, between the parties, that, when they attempted the rescue, each should take off his hat, and wipe his forehead, in token of recognition.—Their saddle-horses were now ready, at the inn, and Mr. Huger feigned some business near the town gate, in order to watch the moment when the carriage passed. The carriage at length appeared; and, as soon as he saw it, he hastened back to the inn. His friend immediately mounted, and followed it, at some distance, armed only with a pair of pistols, charged with powder, but not with ball. Their success was calculated on surprise; and, under all the circumstances of the case, to take any person's life, would have been not only imprudent, but unjust.

They rode past the carriage, and then slackening their pace, and allowing it again to go ahead, exchanged signals with the prisoner. At two or three miles from the gate, the carriage left the high road, and pursued a less frequented tract, in the midst of an open country; the plain being covered

* This gentleman's name is pronounced as if it were spelled *Ugee*, with the accent on the last syllable.

with labouring people. Presently, the carriage stopped. La Fayette and the officer alighted, and walked arm-in-arm, probably to give the former a better opportunity for exercise. The carriage, with the guard, drove slowly on, but remained in sight. This was the critical moment for their attempt. The two companions galloped up; and the doctor, dismounting, left his horse with Huger. At the same instant, La Fayette laid hold of the officer's sword, but could only half draw it from the scabbard, as it had been seized also by the officer, a man of herculean strength. The doctor joining, he was presently disarmed; but the German, as resolute as he was powerful, then grasped La Fayette, held him with all his might, and set up a tremendous roar, like the cyclops when wounded by Ulysses. The guard, instead of coming to his assistance, fled, to alarm the citadel. The people in the field were amazed. A scuffle ensued. Huger passed the bridles of the two horses over one of his arms, and thrust his handkerchief into the officer's mouth, to stop the noise. The officer, the prisoner, and the doctor, fell upon the ground; and the doctor, kneeling upon the officer, kept him down while the general arose.

Unfortunately, one of the horses, taking fright, had reared, snapped his bridle, and ran off. A countryman caught him, and was holding him, at a considerable distance; while the doctor still keeping down the officer, handed a purse to La Fayette, requesting him to mount the remaining horse; and Mr. Huger, told him, in English, to go to Hoff. But he mistook the particular destination for a more general direction—to go off—delayed a moment, to see if he could not assist them—then went on—then rode back again, and asked, once more, if he could be of no service—and, finally, urged anew, galloped away, and was in a minute out of sight.

Recovering from his panic, the officer fled towards Oimutz. Dr. Bollmann and Huger recovered the horse that had escaped, and mounted him, intending to follow, and assist La Fayette. But the animal unaccustomed to carry two persons, refused to perform this task, reared and bounded, and presently threw both. Mr. Huger immediately exclaimed, "This will not do!—the marquis wants you—push on, I'll take my chance across the country.—The doctor pushed forward, and Mr. Huger, who now had little chance of escape, was soon seized by the peasants, and conducted to Olmutz. These accidents defeated their romantic

enterprise. Dr. Bollmann easily arrived at Hoff, and being anxious to receive some intelligence of him, lingered about the frontiers, until the following night, when he also was arrested.

La Fayette continued unpursued: he had taken a wrong road, which led to Jagersdoff, a town on the Prussian frontiers, and followed it as long as his horse could proceed. He had nearly reached the boundary of the Austrian rule, and, perceiving that his horse could go no further, under some pretext he endeavoured to prevail upon a peasant to procure him another horse, and to attend him to the frontier. The man apparently agreed, and went to the village, for the horse. But the general had awakened suspicion: the man promptly returned from the village, but he came with a force, by which the general was arrested, and reconducted to his prison.

Thus ended this gallant, though abortive enterprise; and thus was the generous heart of La Fayette wounded by the sufferings of his noble friends. The three prisoners were separately confined, and denied even the consolation of knowing each other's fate. Mr. Huger and doctor Bollmann were chained to the floor, each in a small vaulted dungeon, without light, and with only bread and water for food; and once every six hours, by day and by night, the guard entered, and with a lamp, examined each brick, and each link of their galling chains. But a ray of hope at length beamed through the grating of their gloomy cells. By the powerful, but unknown intercession, of many of the personal friends of Dr. Bollman, the rigour of their confinement was relaxed, and on the conclusion of their trial, they were sentenced to no more than two weeks additional confinement, after having been already imprisoned about eight months.

Meanwhile, La Fayette was re-assigned to his obscure and ignominious sufferings, with scarcely a hope that they could be terminated, except by death. The irons were so closely fastened around his ancles, that, for three months he endured the most excruciating torture; no light was allowed to pierce the stygian darkness of his solitary dungeon: he was even refused the smallest change of linen: to his bodily tortures, were added the agonies of his mind:—he was made to believe that, he was reserved only for a public execution, and that his chivalric deliverers had already perished on the scaffold; while, at the same time, he was not allowed to know whether

his family were still alive, or had fallen under the revolutionary axe; of which, during the few days he was out of his dungeon, he had heard accounts so appalling to a feeling heart.

Madame de La Fayette, however, was still alive; and, the reign of terror having been crushed in France, this amiable and heroic female, with her two lovely daughters, Anastasia and Virginia, were released from their imprisonment, in Paris, and permitted, by the emperor of Germany, to enjoy the sad consolation of sharing in a husband's and a father's cell. The son of La Fayette had escaped the insatiate guillotine, and found a sure asylum, in the United States—in that country which was so largely indebted to his father's sword; and in the bosom of the immortal Washington, his father's friend. The intercession of the American president, as humane as he was great and brave, failed to obtain the liberation of La Fayette. The voice of general Tarleton—who had fought against him in Virginia,—the eloquence of Wilberforce and Fox, of Sheridan and Grey, in the British parliament—were unsuccessful; and it was not until the dictator of sovereigns, the subduer of thrones and kingdoms, issued his imperious mandate, that the incarcerated patriot was freed from his galling chains, and allowed to retire to his paternal mansion of La Grange.*

The lives of few men have been so pure, as that of La Fayette. Few characters have been loftier, few popular persons have better deserved, and longer retained, popularity. Though, in France, he may have committed some errors, he never had in view but one object—liberty; and never employed but one means of obtaining it—the law.

The affairs of the colonies, at this period, must not be passed over, unnoticed. The commotions which agitated the mother country, were trifling, when compared with the animosities in the West Indies. The liberal designs of the national assembly, which had for their object to ameliorate the condition of the slaves, and the admission of free people of colour into the colonial assemblies, kindled the whole of the French islands into a flame. The white population resisted the decrees of the national assembly. In Martinico and the other small islands, after much contest, order was partly restored; but St. Domingo continued, for a long time,

* La Fayette was liberated, on the 19th of September, 1797, after an imprisonment of more than five years, by an article in the treaty of Campo-Formio, dictated by the victorious Buonaparte.

a melancholy scene of desolation and civil war. The negroes seized the opportunity, thus afforded, to break their chains. In the northern districts, alone, one-hundred-thousand of the African race revolted; and, wherever they were opposed, carried destruction and death into the fields of their oppressors. More than two-hundred plantations were burned; the ships afforded the only asylum from inevitable massacre, and immense numbers of the white inhabitants sought refuge in the United States.

England did not contemplate, with indifference, the events of the revolution. Indications were early given, of the part she intended to act; and, though professions of neutrality were made, by Mr. Dundas, in a letter addressed, by him, to the executive council, the English ambassador, at Paris, was, at this period, recalled, and the French ambassador at London was no longer respected.

A decree, passed in the assembly, by which La Fayette was declared guilty of high treason, was a measure naturally to be expected; nor did the execution of several individuals, charged with holding a correspondence with the enemy, cause any unusual sensation of alarm; but the massacre, on the second and third days of September, of more than two-thousand persons, imprisoned on a charge of conspiracy against the nation, by the instigation chiefly of Danton, Robespierre, and Marat, filled the whole civilized world with horror; as surpassing, in relentless cruelty, the atrocious slaughters of the bloodiest days of ancient Rome.

The murderers proceeded with a kind of method, in their crimes. They impaneled a jury, nine of whom, it is said, were Italians, and the other three French. The watch-word that pronounced the accused guilty, was "*Il faut largir*," (he must be set at liberty;) when the victim was hurried from the door of the prison, to pass through a defile of miscreants, differently armed; and was cut to pieces, with sabres, or pierced through the body, with a hundred pikes.

The jurors and the executioners often exchanged places; the jurors going out, to take the executioners' duty, the executioners, with their reeking hands, sitting as jurors, in their turn.

In the dungeon of La Force, was the beautiful and accomplished princess de Lamballe, the friend and confidant of the queen. When summoned to appear before the bloody tribunal, she was in bed, but she dressed in haste; and, as she

was conducted out of the prison, stupified with horror, at sight of the mangled bodies that lay around her, she received a blow, upon the head, with a sabre; and, when, at last, she fainted, and became so enfeebled, as to be unable to proceed further, her head was severed from her body. Her mangled corpse was exposed to indignities of every kind; and her head, fixed on a pike, was carried to the Temple, and shown to the queen; who fainted at the horrid sight.

The assembly wished to put a stop to these cruel massacres, but could not; the ministry were as impotent as the assembly; and the soldiers, by whom the prisoners were guarded, durst not prevent the murderers from perpetrating their work of death.

But, in the same degree that the French nation became turbulent and ferocious, they became also enthusiastic and brave. One universal movement of headlong courageousness, and of resistless impetuosity, pervaded France; which, like the wild fury of a mountain torrent, that sweeps before it, in its thundering descent, every obstacle by which it is opposed, drove back the advancing columns of the enemy, and enabled even beardless boys to chase, before their new-raised banners, the experienced veterans of Austria and Prussia, and scatter them, though thrice their number, like leaves before the wind.

The name of citizen was now the universal salutation, to all classes. Even when a deputy spoke to a shoe-black, that fond symbol of equality was regularly exchanged between them; and, in the ordinary intercourse of society, there was the most ridiculous affectation of republican brevity and familiarity.—“When you conquer Brussels,” said Collot d’Herbois, the actor, to general Dumourier, “my wife, who is in that city, has my permission to reward you with a kiss”—“Citizen General,” said the deputy, Camus, “thou dost meditate the part of Cæsar; but remember, I will be like Brutus, and plunge a dagger into your bosom.”—“My dear Camus,” said the witty soldier, not in the least alarmed by this classical threat, “I am no more like Cæsar, than you are like Brutus: an assurance that I should live until you kill me, would be equal to a brevet of immortality.”

Dumourier was appointed to succeed La Fayette. The enemy had advanced rapidly, towards the end of July and beginning of August: the confusion and terror produced by the transactions which we have just narrated, encouraged

them in their Quixotic enterprise; and the first conquest achieved by them, was that of Longwy. On the twenty-first of August, this fortress was taken, by General Clairfait; and, soon afterwards, Verdun was entered, by the duke of Brunswick. The road to the capital was thus laid open. But the towns, captured by the confederated generals, were soon retaken. Dumourier and Kellermann were successful, not only in checking the advance of the duke of Brunswick, but in lowering his tone, so completely, that he asked permission to retreat, unmolested; acknowledged the right of the French people to make their own laws; desired nothing further than the admission of Louis into the government, however limited in power; and, before the end of October, evacuated the territories of France, after having lost one-third of his formidable host.

The arms of France were, at this period, victorious, in every quarter. The king of Sardinia had long shown himself hostile to the revolution; and, after the affair of the tenth of August, had held a congress of the foreign ministers, to debate on a plan for invading France. The national assembly, therefore, on the sixteenth of September, declared war against that sovereign; general Montesquieu having entered Savoy, the people joyfully flocked to his standard, and the whole country submitted, without resistance. General Anselm, supported by the co-operation of a fleet, under the command of admiral Truguet, was equally successful, against Nice; and the conquests of general Custine, in the circle of the Upper Rhine, were not less brilliant, than those of his colleagues. Before the end of October, he saw the tricoloured banners proudly floating over the citadels of Spire, Worms, Frankfort, and Mentz.

Even the female sex partook in the general enthusiasm; and many of them proved equal, in courage and conduct, to our own. Not only the sister of general Anselm, and two young ladies, of the name of Fernigs, who served as aids-de-camp to general Dumourier, and another young woman who acted as aid-de-camp to general Custine, but many other French women, distinguished themselves, by the most heroic exertions; and even the artillery was often served by female patriots; who, by their spirit and activity, compensated for that want of force and vigour, which had hitherto been exclusively attributed to men.

The Austrians continued to retire, before the victorious

French. The first resistance experienced by Dumourier, was at the village of Bossu; but the fate of the Netherlands, was decided, by the victory of Gemappe. After this achievement, which has immortalized the name of the French commander, he pursued his successful career, by capturing the city of Mons; and, after an action of six hours, with the prince of Wirtemberg, he made a triumphant entry into Brussels.

In the mean time, Tournay and Malines, Ghent and Antwerp, opened their gates, to general La Bourdonnaye; and Louvain and Namur were taken, by Valence; so that, before the conclusion of the year, the whole of the Austrian Netherlands, Luxembourg only excepted, was subjected to the arms of France.

Profiting by the tide of fortune, Dumourier pursued the flying enemy, into the territory of Liege. Having again beaten the Austrians, at Tirlemont, he stopped there only one day, to refresh his troops; and, on the twenty-seventh of November, overtook, almost at the gates of Liege, the rear-guard of the imperialists, amounting to twelve-thousand men, under the command of general Starray; and, having driven them from six villages, in succession, and at length from an intrenchment, totally defeated them, with the loss of their commander; on the following day, he entered the city, after a series of rapid triumphs, almost unparalleled, in the history of war.

But the glory of Dumourier had reached its zenith. He soon afterwards fell a prey to the intrigues of a faction; whose views, like his own, were confined to personal ambition. Under the influence of this party, the war-minister, Pache, is supposed to have acted; and every criminal means appears to have been practised, to distress his gallant soldiers. While immense sums were levied, by the convention, the army was destitute of every necessary of life. Unprovided with mat-trasses or coverlets, these brave men, who had gained those immortal battles, were compelled, in a rainy and inclement winter, to sleep on the wet ground, and some, to avoid the evils consequent upon such a situation, lashed themselves to the trunks of trees, and slept upon their feet. The soldiers were almost naked, without coats, without shoes; and their arms were rendered unserviceable, from the want of cloaks, to cover them from the rain. Numbers of the men perished, still greater numbers deserted, and returned home; more

than fifteen-thousand were in the hospitals, and ten-thousand horses died, for want of food.

NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Meanwhile, on the twenty-first of September, the Assembly had terminated its sittings, and was succeeded by the National Convention. The first president chosen, was Petion; the vice-president was Condorcet; the secretaries, Brissot and Lasource, Vergniaud, Camus, and Rabaud.

The fate of Louis now hung suspended by a thread. Collot d'Herbois appeared on the tribune, and reminded the convention, that there was one declaration that could not, for a moment, be deferred—the eternal abolition of royalty, in France:—the abolition was voted by acclamation, and the house adjourned.



CHAPTER VII.

REPUBLIC.

DECAPITATION OF LOUIS XVI.—WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

ON the sixth of November, a report of accusation was made against the king; on the eleventh of December, he was ordered to the bar of the convention, when his trial commenced; and on the twenty-sixth, he entered upon his defence.

The countenance of Louis, on entering the hall, was firm and manly; and he looked round upon the assembly, with an air of resolution. As he stood at the bar, the president said to him, with a faltering voice; “Louis, the French nation accuses you; you are now about to hear the reading of the act, declaratory of the charges. Louis, sit down.”—During the long interrogatory, he discovered great calmness and presence of mind. He replied to each question with readiness, and generally in a touching and triumphant manner.

When he returned to the temple, the convention debated on the demand he had made of a defender. It was in vain, that some of the Mountainists opposed the motion: the convention determined that Louis should have counsel. He him-

self had mentioned Target and Tronchet; but the former refused. It was then, that the venerable Malesherbes offered himself to the convention, to defend his fallen master. They acceded to his chivalric offer. Louis was touched, by this proof of devotion to his cause. When Malesherbes entered his chamber, he went up to him, embraced him, and said, "The sacrifice you make for me, is so much the more grievous, as you expose your own life, without a chance of saving mine."

Malesherbes and Tronchet applied themselves uninterruptedly in preparing his defence, and joined with themselves M. Deseze.

The discussions on the defence of Louis, and on the separate propositions of several members, continued for many days. Some were for an immediate vote, on the general charge, and execution, without delay,—as Marat, Robespierre, Chabot, Robert, Fabre, Legendre, St. Just, and Danton: others were of opinion, that he ought to suffer death, but deemed it right to discuss the expediency of retarding or accelerating the punishment; as Mailhe, Freilhard, Gaudet, Gensonne, Vergniaud, and Brissot: a third party assented to his absolute guilt, but wished that he should be confined, during the war, and then banished. Of this opinion, were Petion, Manuel, Salles, Dussaulx, Rabaud, Cambaceres, Guellimard, Louvet, Charles, Villette, and Thomas Paine.

The fourteenth of January was appointed, for the 1793. decision. On the question, "Is Louis guilty of a conspiracy against the liberty of the nation, and of attempts against the safety of the state?"—of seven-hundred-and-thirteen members who were present, six-hundred-and-eighty-seven voted that he was guilty. On the seventeenth, upon the question, "What punishment shall he suffer?"—of seven-hundred-and-twenty-one members, twenty-one voted for death, demanding a discussion of the period: one, for death, with a reserve of its commutation, or a delay; two, for death, but not to be executed until the conclusion of peace; two for chains; three-hundred-and-nineteen, for imprisonment and banishment; three-hundred-and-sixty-six, for death; the majority for unconditional death, being only eleven.

The president, Barrere, then lowering his voice, amidst the most profound and awful silence, said—"I declare, in the name of the convention, that the punishment which it pronounces against Louis Capet, is—*Death*."

When the duke of Orleans, who sat as a member of the convention, under the name of citizen Egalité, was asked for his vote, there was a deep pause; and when his answer was *death*, the auditors were electrified with a momentary horror.

The defenders of Louis appeared at the bar, and seemed deeply moved. They endeavoured to recall the assembly to sentiments of pity, in consideration of the small majority of voices by which he was condemned. But the matter had been already discussed, and decided.—“Laws are framed only by means of a simple majority,” said a Mountainist.—“Yes,” said a voice; “but decrees may be reformed, and the life of a man can never be recalled.”—Malesherbes wished to speak, but could not. His voice was stifled by his sobs, and the only words that were audible, were broken and imploring. His grief touched the assembly. The Girondists now called for delay, as a last resource; but they failed in this also, and the fatal sentence was pronounced.

Louis was allowed the assistance of a priest, and a free communication with his wife and children. The moment of the interview was terrible, for that unfortunate family; and that of their separation, still more affecting. On quitting them, Louis promised to see them again, the next day; but, on entering his chamber, he felt that the trial was too distressing for him; and, as he walked about the room, he said to himself—“I shall not go.”—This was his last struggle: he afterwards thought only of preparing for death. The twenty-first of January was fixed for his execution. On the night preceding, he had a peaceful slumber. On being awoke, at five o’clock, by Cléry, whom he had ordered to call him at that time, he made his last testament, received the communion, charged Cléry with his last words, and with all that he was allowed to dispose of by will—a ring, a seal, and some hair. Already the drums began to beat, and a confused sound of cannon dragged along, and human voices, were heard. At length, Santerre arrived.—“You are come for me,” said Louis; “*I require only a moment.*”—He then gave his will to a municipal officer, asked for his hat, and said, in a firm tone of voice, “*Let us go.*”

The carriage occupied an hour in passing from the temple to the square of the revolution. A double line of soldiers guarded the road; and more than four-thousand men were under arms. Amongst the citizens, there were signs apparent neither of approbation nor regret:—all were silent.

In their arrival at the place of execution, Louis descended from the carriage. He mounted the ladder of the scaffold with a firm step, and received, on his knees, the blessing of the priest, Mr. Edgworth. He allowed his hands to be tied, though with some reluctance; and, turning to the left of the scaffold—"I die innocent," said he; "I forgive my enemies:—and you, unfortunate people"—At this moment, the signal for the drums to beat, was given; the sound of their roll drowned his voice; the three executioners seized him, and the reverend clergyman exclaimed, "Son of St. Louis, ascend to heaven!"

After suffering decapitation, by the quick-descending guillotine, the body of Louis was conveyed, in a cart, to the parish church of St. Madelaine; the grave was filled with quicklime, and a guard placed over it, until the corpse was consumed; and, that no mark might remain of the royal sufferer, over which the tear of loyalty might be shed, or the sigh of regret be uttered, for the prostration of an ancient throne, the ground was carefully levelled with the surrounding earth.

Thus perished, at the age of thirty-nine, after a reign of eighteen years and three months, the most unfortunate of monarchs. Charles the first, of England, was the first king that had been tried and put to death, by his subjects; Louis the sixteenth, was the second. Louis was rather a lover of his subjects, than a tyrant. The revolution was an inheritance, bequeathed to him by his ancestors. He perished a victim to circumstances, which he was unable to control; to the passions of those about him, in which he did not participate, and to those of the multitude, which he had not incited.

The widow of the decapitated monarch, was not allowed to survive him. On the fifteenth of October, she was arraigned, before the revolutionary tribunal, and pronounced guilty of conspiring against the French republic; and, the next day suffered death, on the scaffold, in the thirty-ninth year of her age.

In the month of May, in the ensuing year, the blood of the princess Elizabeth was demanded; and, though not a single witness was produced against her, nor any charge made, by which she was, in the smallest degree, inculpated, she was sentenced to undergo the same tragical fate, as her mother and the queen.

The dauphin, now in his eighth year, who had been pro-

claimed, by his uncle, the count d'Artois, king of France, under the title of Louis XVII., was intrusted to the care of a shoemaker, named Simon, for the purpose of being taught his trade; and died, soon afterwards, in consequence of the cruel treatment he received, or, as some assert, by poison: his uncle, the count de Provence, assuming the regal dignity, as Louis XVIII.

The dauphiness, the sole remaining child of Louis, still younger than her brother, was detained, for a considerable time, in the prison of the Conciergerie; and at length permitted to leave her place of confinement and her country, in exchange for La Fayette and his companions; who, on that condition, were delivered, by Austria, from the gloomy dungeons of Olmutz.

* On the nineteenth of December, 1795.—This interesting princess was afterwards married to her cousin, the duke d'Angoulême eldest son of the count d'Artois; who, at the period of this history being written, is king of France, under the title of Charles X.

FINIS.

¶ *A continuation of this history has been written, in a separate and distinct volume; entitled, "THE LIFE OF NAPOLEON, with the History of France, from the Death of Louis XVI. to the year 1821."*

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